

THE USE OF THE BIBLE IN
MILTON'S EPIC POEMS

By
JAMES H. SIMS

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
June, 1959

TO BETTY

"My other self, the partner of my life"

and our children

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge help which he has received from many sources; a few deserve special mention here. Part of the work done on this study was made possible by a grant from the Southern Fellowships Fund, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The Director and Staff of the University of Florida Libraries have been especially cooperative and helpful. In addition to the inspiration he has provided as a teacher, Professor Ants Oras, as chairman of the supervisory committee, has been a patient and painstaking guide, an encouraging friend, and, perhaps most important, a keen critic. The advice of Professor T. Walter Herbert was invaluable in the initial shaping and condensing of the mass of material to be dealt with as well as in the later stages of the writing. Professors Joseph Brunet and Ernest Cox are largely responsible for the accuracy of form of the foreign languages and of the English respectively; any inaccuracies are wholly the writer's. Professors Edwin C. Kirkland and Thomas Pyles have, through their reading and criticism, contributed greatly to whatever is of value in the content and form of this study. Finally, the greatest debt the author owes is to his wife and children, who have ungrudgingly allowed their husband and father to give a disproportionate share of the past four years of his life to scholarship in general and to Milton and the Bible in particular.

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PREFACE

This study is in large part the result of the effect of the intellectual stimulation of Milton's thought and art upon one whose background and interests have caused him to be receptive particularly to that Christian tradition which is firmly based on the Bible. Due largely to his parents, the writer's interest in the Bible and in Christian faith and thought go back beyond memory; the stimulation of that interest by contact with literature generally and with Milton specifically came about, primarily, through two of his teachers: Professor Thomas B. Stroup, now of the University of Kentucky, and Professor Ants Oras, the present chairman of his supervisory committee. This particular study of Milton was first projected in 1955 when an idea, initiated in a seminar all but unconsciously, was crystallized and made articulate by a sentence from Harris Francis Fletcher's The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose. Professor Fletcher wrote, "Another important aspect of the study of Milton's use of the Bible in his prose works is the evidence it affords of the need for a re-evaluation of his use of the Bible in his poetry."¹ While it is not claimed that the present work sufficiently satisfies the need of which Professor Fletcher spoke, it is hoped that the need is partially

¹Harris Francis Fletcher, The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose (Urbana, 1929), p. 12.

met and that the way is cleared for a more adequate and inclusive study.

One of the major problems faced at the outset of this study was that of determining the versions of the Bible to use. Professor Fletcher's work was of help here, for he has conclusively shown, as far as Milton's prose is concerned, that the "agreement of the majority of his quotations in English with the Authorized Version is markedly apparent."² The percentage of quotations agreeing with the A. V. almost doubles after Milton's blindness; Professor Fletcher's figures show 47.7 per cent of the quotations in the prose agreeing with the A. V. before Milton's blindness as opposed to 80.4 per cent agreement after his blindness. "There is but one real class of variants discernible after his blindness, and this is represented by the quotations that present a reading for or a translation of the original Hebrew or Greek which is Milton's own production."³ With the tentative hypothesis, based on Professor Fletcher's work with the prose, that Milton's Biblical references and allusions in the major poems would be predominantly from the A. V. and that variants would be explained largely by Milton's own translations from the original languages of the Bible, there still remained to be settled the question of which edition and printing of the A. V. and which text of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament to use.

²Ibid., p. 20.

³Ibid., p. 94.

Professor Fletcher's acceptance of the identification of Milton's English Bible as a 1612 printing by Robert Barker of the A. V., an acceptance based on a precedent set by the British Museum authorities in 1884,⁴ was followed for purposes of this study. As the reader progresses through the following chapters, he will doubtless be convinced by the overwhelming evidence of agreement between Milton's poetry and the 1612 printing of the A. V. (the first quarto, Roman letter printing) that it is indeed the version Milton most frequently used and had most indelibly in his mind. For the Hebrew and Greek versions, since there is no evidence connecting any particular editions with Milton, the Antwerp Polyglot, printed by Christopher Plantin in 1584 and mentioned by David Daiches⁵ as a widely known Bible available to the A. V. translators and to others interested in studying the original Scriptures, has been used. The text of the

⁴Wynne E. Baxter ("Milton Bibles," *N&O*, III [1911], 109-110) summarizes the evidence on all the Bibles associated with Milton and his wives and concludes that the British Museum Bible is the only one extant which one can be reasonably sure that Milton used. The only other extant Bible connected with Milton is a Geneva version of 1588 owned by his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull Milton, and autographed by her in 1664 (no evidence of use by Milton of the Geneva Bible has been discovered in his poetry). The story, perhaps apocryphal, of the acquisition of Milton's Bible by the British Museum is interestingly told by George Potter ("Milton Bibles," *N&O*, III [1911], 70): "I believe it was [Thomas] Kerslake who told me that when he was staying at a hydropathic establishment at Matlock, a fellow-visitor told him he had an old Bible in his bedroom that had belonged to Jo. Mitton, the sporting man. Kerslake asked to see it, and, on its being brought, exclaimed: 'Why, this belonged to John Milton, the poet!' to which the owner replied: 'If it only belonged to a poet, it ain't no good.' The result was that Kerslake obtained it for a trifling sum, and later very liberally handed it to the British Museum authorities at the same price."

⁵The King James Version of the English Bible (Chicago, 1941), pp. 146-48.

Antwerp Polyglot is based on the Complutensian Polyglot of 1520, the product of the most famous of the trilingual colleges of the sixteenth century at Alcalà (called Complutum by the Romans), Spain. The Antwerp Polyglot is listed in Jacques Charles Brunet's Manuel du Libraire (fifth edition) as having gone through five printings from 1572 to 1657 (at Antwerp, Geneva, and Leipzig) and is called "la plus belle et la plus estimée" of Christopher Plantin's Bibles. For the Latin references in the poems, the Vulgate has seemed closer than the Junius-Tremellius Latin Bible used often by Milton in his prose. The spellings have been maintained in quotations from all the versions referred to, but typography has been modernized ("j" has been substituted for "i," as in "iustice," "u" for "v," "s" for "ſ," etc., in the A. V., and scribal abbreviations in the Hebrew and Greek texts have been discarded in favor of separate characters). Bibliographical data on the Bibles used will be found in the bibliography appended.

The quotations from Milton's poetry and prose are from the text of the first editions as given by Frank Allen Patterson in his Student's Milton (1947). Biblical chapter and verse references are incorporated into the text in parentheses as are line references to Milton's epic poems; all other documentation is included in the footnotes. Abbreviations of the names of the books of the Bible and of Milton's poems are confined to the notes and references and are those which are generally familiar. "A. V." stands for Authorized Version.

INTRODUCTION

A systematic study of the use of the Bible in Milton's epic poems is a mountainous task and one which involves an almost endless amount of time spent in checking references, turning the pages of several Bibles and concordances almost simultaneously, and noting references previously pointed out by Milton's editors and commentators; it is also the kind of study which seems almost pointless, since everyone knows that Milton's Biblical knowledge was as thorough as his classical knowledge and that his epics are classical in form and Biblical in content. What else is there to be said? The epics are saturated with the Bible throughout, and, since that is such an obvious fact, there seems little point in launching a study the only conclusion of which can be that the epics are, indeed, saturated with the Bible. These two factors -- the immensity of the bulk of the Biblical material in the poems and the feeling that not much worth discovering would be yielded by a study of such Biblical material -- may be primary factors in the neglect by modern scholars of this particular kind of study of Milton. Yet bodies of material as vast and vaster (and duller) have been dealt with successfully, and many attempts have been made to explain the obvious. That the Biblical saturation is obvious in Milton, however, does not imply that the nature, extent, and effect of that saturation is obvious, and the analysis of these is the task undertaken in this study of

Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained.

Another factor in the neglect of a systematic study of Milton's poetic use of the Bible is, of course, the growing ignorance of and lack of interest in the principles and even the once-familiar stories of the Bible. In an age when not a single member of a graduate class in English in a major state university can identify Keats' allusion to Ruth's standing in tears amid the alien corn and when only a handful of students in a large freshman class can recognize the story of the Prodigal Son when it is read to them from a modern English translation, there is less and less hope for the popularity of a poet who depends on a general sensitivity to Biblical allusion on the part of the literate public and still less hope for the success of a secondary study attempting to elucidate Biblical references and analyze the aesthetic effect on and the ethical insight gained in the mind of the reader. Both poet and critic are in danger of finding themselves without even a few to make up a "fit audience."

None of these factors, however, prevented editors of an earlier age from noting and commenting at length on certain references, nor did the feeling that the Biblical references would be obvious to Milton's readers prevent their discussing the effect gained by Milton's artistic use of the Bible. The possibility that Milton's use of the Bible or their comments on his use might have no meaning or interest for the literate public was not seriously considered by his editors, at least not by those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That most of the Biblical allusions discussed in this study were noted

by the editors of these centuries and that the contribution of Biblical references by modern editors (from Masson onward) has been, for the most part, mere repetition of matter supplied by earlier editors is obvious to one who refers to the appended index. The editions of Patrick Hume (1695) and Bishop Newton (1749) contribute more Bible references to Paradise Lost between them than the others combined, although it should be stated that Bishop Newton drew on several collaborators and predecessors. Yet none of the editors, commentators, or scholars have attempted to bring together and systematize Milton's use of the Bible in his major poems; this is the task undertaken here.

The various editors of Milton through the eighteenth century held differing views of Milton as a man, as an artist, and as a Christian, but, in spite of the random nature of their references, they were practically unanimous in their praise of his use of the Bible and in their feeling that Milton's poems, being "taken out of Sacred Story," as Hume said, were superior to the classics because, as Todd put it, they were "based on real histories and matters of fact"; most of them, however, did not go so far as Gillies, who announced his purpose to be "to show this only, that *Paradise Lost* owes its chief excellence to the Holy Scriptures."¹ Gillies' statement is certainly the opposite of the prevailing modern attitude towards Milton and his epics, an attitude in which some think of the

¹Quotations from Milton's editors are from Ants Oras, Milton's Editors and Commentators from Patrick Hume to Henry John Todd (London, 1931), pp. 32, 223, 297. This work is a thorough survey of the methods, characteristics, and idiosyncrasies of Milton's commentators on Biblical and other literary matters.

Biblical material and the theology of Milton as unpleasant and ineffective medicines which, while they have a certain antiquarian appeal, are made palatable only by the phonetic sweetness and richness of Milton's poetry. The point of view of this study is neither the one nor the other but is at a mid-point between the two. The Bible contributes a great deal to the music and imagery of Milton's poetry, and Milton's great and transforming mental powers make the Scriptures he uses peculiarly his own, fitted within the dramatic and epic context of his "great Argument." Paradise Lost does not owe its chief excellence to the Bible, but rather to Milton's skillful poetic use of the Bible; the Bible, on the other hand, does not derive its authority and convincing power from the poem, but rather brings it into the poem via Milton's catalytic mind. The Biblical elements in Milton's epics, therefore, cannot be ignored any more than the classical elements; even for purposes of appreciating the cosmic sweep and organ tones of Milton's poetry, one must, if one is to base his appreciation on anything concrete, take into account the Biblical tone and idiom which permeates the epics. And if one turns from the sound to examine the sense, an acquaintance with the Bible, it is hoped the following pages will make clear, is often the sine qua non of a full understanding of Milton's statements and suggestions.

This study is divided into five major sections, the third and largest section being subdivided into two sections. As the discussion progresses, it will become evident that from the first through the fourth there is an ascending order of importance in the arrangement of the sections, each succeeding section being more directly

related to and shedding more light upon Milton's art. The last division seeks to set forth certain conclusions drawn from the mass of evidence examined. Milton is first seen in this study as a Christian poet, believing in the Biblical basis of his subject and communicating the conviction of Biblical authority, of superhistorical reality, of Truth to his audience, an audience whose response to his Biblical references he could safely assume. Then the Milton of vast learning in the classical and Biblical languages is portrayed by means of an analysis of his allusions to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Scriptures, allusions which Milton could depend on a select number of his "fit audience," those trained in the trilingual tradition of Oxford and Cambridge especially,² to recognize. The third division presents Milton as the epic dramatist, following to some extent the tradition of Biblical allusion for dramatic effect as it had been established on the Elizabethan stage by Marlowe and Shakespeare, thus enhancing the dramatic force of his epics beyond anything that could have been accomplished on the stage. Then, in the fourth section, Milton's peculiarly epic uses of the Bible are shown as aiding him in his achievement of the sublimity, variety, and thematic unity so vital to the literary epic. After the concluding section and bibliography is an index to the Biblical references in both epics with an indication of the editors who have noted each reference.

²David Daiches, The King James Version of the English Bible (Chicago, 1941), pp. 142-43.

The index has been made as complete as time, knowledge, and diligence allowed; it may well be the most useful part of this study for the student of Milton.

One question remains to be answered in this introduction. What can the reader hope to gain from Milton's epic poems as a result of his perusal of this study? The answer is fivefold. The author hopes that the reader will gain the following benefits.

(1) A clearer sense of the aura of truth which Milton was striving to achieve by reference to Biblical authority both in those parts of his epics based clearly on certain Bible passages and in those parts which his own imagination developed from germinal Bible texts.

(2) An increased aesthetic pleasure and ethical insight into the poems from the recognition of Milton's linguistic knowledge and skill as he alludes to the Bible in its original languages and in Latin.

(3) A more sensitive awareness of the dramatic power with which Milton established setting and mood, the movement of the present action and the suspense of foreshadowing action, the suggestions of Biblical language, and the delineation of character. (It is especially hoped that a sharper insight into the character and motivation of Satan, the Son, Adam, and Eve may result from analyzing Milton's use of Biblical allusion as a means of interpreting character for the reader.)

(4) A greater appreciation of Milton as a creative artist who built upon solid, traditional foundations of form and content two

great literary works which are original in the best sense of the word (i. e., firmly rooted in the past while thrusting forth more highly and nobly than anything of its kind before or since) and are the result of a successful amalgamation of classical, Biblical, and original elements into a superbly unified epic style.

(5) Finally it is hoped that the reader may be provoked by this study to refer to the index for adding to the list of examples given in each section, since it is realized that the possibilities are far from being exhausted. Indeed the reader may wish to add to the index those references which occur to him that are not now recorded.

And now to a detailed consideration of Milton's poetic use of that

truth

.
Left onely in those written Records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood.

(P. L., XII, 511, 513, 514)

CHAPTER ONE

AUTHORITATIVE REALITY THROUGH BIBLICAL ALLUSION

Among the many problems faced by Milton in composing Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained were two the solution to which involved his highest powers as a poet on the one hand and as a man of Biblical learning on the other. These were the problem of making the persons and events of his poems seem real in spite of the other-worldly character (other-worldly in the sense of being outside the experience of the reader) of all of them except Adam and Eve after the Fall and the problem of giving the stories an authoritativeness of atmosphere so that even when the poet's imagination took him far afield from Scripture there would be an authentic Scriptural ring communicated to the reader, either consciously or unconsciously. The first problem will be discussed further in the chapter on Milton's use of the Bible to gain certain dramatic effects, but a few general observations need to be made here.

The wide knowledge of the Bible enjoyed by everyone with any claim to literacy in the seventeenth century made it possible for Milton to achieve to a great degree the illusion of reality for his readers by his use of allusions to Biblical characters and events the historicity of which practically no one doubted. Basil Willey has described the seventeenth century background out of which (almost in opposition to which) Milton's great Biblical epics grew.

The traditional sources of poetry were running dry; mythologies were exploded and obsolete; no poet with Milton's passion for reality could pour all the energies of his nature into such moulds any longer. But there still remained one source, and one only, from which the seventeenth century protestant poet could draw images and fables which were not only "poetic" but also "true": the Bible. . . . Milton, together with nearly everyone else in his century, felt all proper contact with biblical material to be, in quite a special sense, contact with Truth.¹

And, although it is undeniable that the modern reader approaches Milton with quite a different attitude toward the Biblical material of his poems, Milton can still achieve an illusion of reality and truth for the reader who is willing to acquaint himself rather closely with the Bible and to make the additional "suspension of disbelief" which is probably necessary for him. It is especially true of Paradise Lost but also true of Paradise Regained that the convinced Christian reader who has a knowledge of the Scriptures as well as a cultivated literary taste will gain the most instruction and delight from Milton because it was for him that Milton wrote. As Professor L. A. Cormican of Cambridge has said, "To endeavour to read him without any close acquaintance with the Bible is to evade the kind of preparation which he assumed."² Then, comparing Milton's complexity to that of the Bible, he adds:

¹The Seventeenth Century Background (New York, 1953), pp. 226-27.

²"Milton's Religious Verse," in A Guide to English Literature: From Donne to Marvell, ed. Boris Ford (London, 1956), p. 181.

The parallel between Milton and the Bible is true to this extent that it is only by an intensification of the religious spirit, as well as by expanding experience, that we can come to grasp the complexity of the great Psalm 22, the Lord's Prayer, or Paradise Lost; can we come to see explicitly what was before only implicit to our less developed religious sensibility.³

Reading Milton with no knowledge of the Bible and no personal religious experience, continues Professor Cormican, is comparable to a child's reading Romeo and Juliet; with no knowledge of or experience in the passions of real love, the child is merely baffled. But there is this difference: the child is not intellectually mature enough to enter imaginatively into an emotion which he has never experienced whereas there are those, even atheists and agnostics, who have the necessary intellectual and aesthetic maturity to enter imaginatively into Milton's attempt to "justifie the wayes of God to men," and, if they are willing to suspend their disbelief in the historical or theological dependability of the Bible, they may do so.

It is to be feared that most modern readers do not lack the maturity and willingness to suspend disbelief as much as they lack knowledge of the Bible, and Biblical allusions can only achieve an effect when the allusions are recognized. To the end of helping Milton's readers recognize his allusions to the Scriptures, commentators and editors from Patrick Hume to Merritt Y. Hughes have noted many references to specific Bible texts in the poetry. A glance through the index to the present work will show that relatively few

³Ibid., p. 185.

Biblical references have been added to those noted by Milton's editors. It is the purpose of this work, however, to go a step beyond mere annotation and brief random comment and to present a systematic discussion of the various uses made of Biblical material by Milton in his epic poems. It is perhaps too much to hope that this discussion may help Milton to achieve the illusion of historical reality and authority for many modern readers, but it does not seem vain to hope that it will aid them in understanding how Milton's use of the Bible in his epics has affected and does affect those of his readers who have either come to the poems with the Biblical and religious preparation he assumed or have been willing to take the trouble to acquire such a preparation in order to appreciate his work more fully.

The second problem, that of lending the ring of authority even to his magnificent flights of imagination, Milton solved by making his epic a virtual mosaic of Biblical echo, paraphrase, allusion, idiomatic structure, and tone that gives the impression (an impression which may be given and received either consciously or unconsciously) that the author speaks with textual authority backing every phase of his poems. Thus, aside from having provided the basic stories for him, the Bible and Biblical allusion work for Milton as a means of making the action, characters, and setting believable, probable, and real, and as a means of establishing an illusion of Biblical authority even for the invented parts of his great poems.

Under the general heading, then, of the use of the Bible

by Milton to create authoritative reality, selected examples will be discussed in each of the epics; the examples fall roughly into two main categories: (1) statements, phrases, or ideas for which the exact Scriptural authority is easily assigned, or persons and events identifiable as Biblical and (2) the description of persons or events in the poems which do not occur in the Bible but which are the result of the imaginative expansion of an idea from a textual starting point.

Statements, phrases, or ideas which can be quickly identified and traced to their Scriptural origin are abundant in both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. In the opening lines of Paradise Lost, for example --

Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,
Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,
In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
Rose out of Chaos: or if Sion Hill
Delight thee more, and Silboa's Brook that flow'd
Fast by the Oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous Song --

(P. L., I, 1-13)

there are no less than fifteen different Biblical references in the thirteen lines (Romans 5:12, 19; Genesis 2:17; I Corinthians 15:45, 47; Psalm 23:3; Exodus 34:2, 3; Exodus 3:1; Exodus 24:12-18; Genesis 1:1; John 1:1; Nehemiah 3:15; Isaiah 8:6; Psalm 28:2; Psalm 2:6; Deuteronomy 4:10; Exodus 19:18). The Biblical allusions here set up an aura of authoritative reality early by their reference to particular

places and persons (Oreb, Sinai, Sion, Siloa, That Shepherd, chosen Seed, greater Man, Eden) and by their suggestion of some of the central doctrines of Christianity (the Fall and consequent Death, Redemption by Christ, and an inspired revelation of God in the Bible).

Milton, by concentrating in the opening lines of his poem references to such widely separated persons as Adam and Christ, Israel (the "chosen Seed" descended from Abraham and ancestor of Christ, who was himself called the "seed of the woman") and Moses, is appealing to his readers to make a kind of connection which they were accustomed to making when they read the Bible: a vertical or figural connection between events not horizontally or causally connected except as they were seen as stages in the universal history of man's salvation as revealed in the Bible (e. g., the disobedience of Adam in Eden, the receiving of the Law by Moses on Sinai, and the placing of the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple on "Sion Hill"). Erich Auerbach has pointed out that such figural connections are a characteristic of the Old Testament representation of reality as compared with the temporal and "horizontal" connections of such representation in Homer. He says:

The greater the separateness and horizontal disconnection of the stories and groups of stories in relation to one another, compared with the Iliad and the Odyssey, the stronger is their general vertical connection which holds them all together and which is entirely lacking in Homer. Each of the great figures of the Old Testament, from Adam to the prophets, embodies a moment of this vertical connection. God chose and formed these men to the end of embodying his essence and will -- yet choice and formation do not coincide, for

the latter proceeds gradually, historically, during the earthly life of him upon whom the choice has fallen.⁴

Thus in his opening lines Milton is setting the atmosphere for the whole poem: an atmosphere of Biblical authority and an atmosphere in which every action, every speech, every description is fraught with background and reaches back into the past of Chaos, Creation, and the Fall and forward into the gradual working out of God's Providence in Redemption and Restoration.

Within a framework with such an eternal sweep it is difficult to decide on the primary use Milton is making of the Bible at certain points where there is much overlapping of uses. Many passages which might well fit into the pattern of the present chapter include references which serve other ends in relation to the whole and are therefore discussed elsewhere; in addition many passages which have as their primary purpose the establishment of authoritative reality have been arbitrarily excluded because of space. Representative examples from each of the twelve books of Paradise Lost and the four books of Paradise Regained are included here, however, to illustrate the use made of the Bible to indicate authority and to evoke belief; following this broad survey of the epics, selected examples of Milton's use of textual starting points in his expanded imaginative presentation will be discussed.

⁴Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature (New York, 1957), p. 14.

Paradise Lost

Book I

In Book I of Paradise Lost things stated and implied about the Holy Spirit by Milton's invocation to the Spirit are soundly Scripture-based and the language in which he speaks to the Spirit is reminiscent enough of Bible language to convince the reader that Milton's view of the Spirit has Biblical authority.

And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
Wast present.

(P. L., I, 17-20)

"Temples" recalls the Scriptural image of man's body as the temple of the Spirit of God: "What, know ye not that your body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your owne?" (I Corinthians 6:19). Paul wrote of his messages that they were transmitted "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghost teacheth" (I Cor. 2:13) after having described the Spirit as alone knowing the things of God (I Cor. 2:11b). This is the same Spirit who was present in the beginning and "mooved upon the face of the waters" (Genesis 1:2). Thus Milton's phrasing strikes a responsive chord in the reader who knows the Bible. This is not to argue that Milton consciously intended to get such a response or that the reader consciously recognizes the Biblical allusions. But it is true that, subliminal or not, the response is made as to one speaks not fancifully but authoritatively in the language of the Bible. Milton has a "true" conception of the

Spirit as an intelligent instructor of man in the things of God which only the Spirit knows; further, neither Hell nor Heaven can hide anything from the Spirit.

Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view
Nor the deep Tract of Hell.

(P. L., I, 27-28)

The words of the psalmist do not have to come consciously to mind for the effect of authoritative reality to be gained; but if one reads making a conscious effort to support Milton with Scripture, one finds it easy to assign specific texts: "Whither shall I goe from thy spirit? Or whither shall I flie from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there" (Psalm 139:7-8). And a clause from a verse in Corinthians immediately preceding the verses from that epistle just quoted reads, "For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deepe things of God" (I Cor. 2:10b).

Biblical language adds authoritative reality to Milton's conception of the fallen angels as having become the heathen deities of Hebrew antiquity. They assemble around Satan as "Powers that earst in Heaven sat on Thrones,

Though of their Names in heav'nly Records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
By thir Rebellion, from the Books of Life.
Nor had they yet among the Sons of Eve
Got them new Names, till wandring ore the Earth,
Through Gods high sufferance for the tryal of man,
By falsities and lyes the greatest part
Of Mankind they corrupted to forsake
God their Creator, and th' invisible
Glory of him, that made them, to transform
Oft to the Image of a Brute, adorn'd

With gay Religions full of Pomp and Gold,
 And Devils to adore for Deities:
 Then were they known to men by various Names,
 And various Idols through the Heathen World.

(P. L., I, 360-375)

Although there is no statement in the Bible that the fallen angels became heathen gods, Milton's explanation is an acceptable one to those who accept the God revealed in the Bible as the only true God and all others as deliberate falsifications of Satan to corrupt mankind, and an important factor in the acceptance of Milton's explanation is the Biblical language in which it is couched and the allusions which call up Biblical incidents and statements. The concept of a Book of Life out of which one's name may be blotted is Biblical. The Biblical statement concerns those who overcome temptation or defilement and thus will not have their names blotted out; Milton simply reverses the situation to make it appropriate to the fallen angels. The emphasis upon the names is noteworthy, especially when it is remembered that those who overcome are given new names in Heaven (Revelation 3:12b) while these fallen angels "Got them new Names" upon earth in pagan idolatry.

Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments, and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the booke of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his Angels.

(Revelation 3:4,5)

Another reference (l. 361 above) includes the idea of the destruction of even the memory of those whose names are cast out by God.

Thou hast rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the wicked; thou hast put out their name for ever and ever. . . . Their memorial is perished with them.

(Psalm 9:5, 6b)

The phrase "wandering ore the Earth, / Through Gods high sufferance for the tryal of man" recalls the whole story of Job, whose troubles came about because of God's sufferance of Satan in his wanderings "to and fro in the earth" to bring Job to a trial of his patience and faith; the fact that mankind, unlike Job, was corrupted and forsook God to follow these devilish deities is more understandable when the Scriptural connotations of Milton's phrase "the Sons of Eve" are considered together with his earlier statement (l. 36) that it was the "Mother of Mankinde" who was deceived by the serpent. The Pauline explanation of pagan deterioration from the knowledge of the true God to beast worship is alluded to in lines 367-371, quoted above; the Gentiles, says Paul,

changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, unto an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourefooted beasts, and creeping things . . . [and] changed the trueth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creatour.

(Romans 1:23, 25)

But Milton's crowning Biblical authority in this passage from Paradise Lost is the alliterative line "And Devils to adore for Deities" (l. 373), for here he has clear Scriptural precedent for his identification of heathen gods with devils, a precedent which could easily lead to the idea of the origin of idolatry that Milton has included in his poem. Moses spoke of those who had turned from Jehovah to other gods as those who "sacrificed unto devils, not to God" (Deuter-

onomy 32:17), and Paul gave New Testament force to the reference when he contrasted the worship of the Christian church with that of the Gentile paganism in Corinth and in the Roman Empire generally.

The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that yee should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drinke the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot bee partakers of the Lords Table, and of the table of devils.

(I Corinthians 10:20-21)

It is only after having made this strongest of his appeals to Biblical authority for his idea that Milton turns to his Muse in a parenthetical invocation for the knowledge of these devils' names; and, of course, since they are provided by the Spirit, the names and the descriptions of the devils who are most prominent are from Scripture. But "After these" (l. 476) appear those the Scriptural authority for whom is not so clear: the "bleating Gods" of Egypt, Belial, who has no temple or altar of his own, and "Th' Ionian Gods, of Javans Issue held / Gods" (ll. 508-509). Milton is careful to keep separate that for which he can supply reasonable Biblical authority and that for which there is no authority or doubtful authority. Although Javan's (Japheth's) issue "held" as "Gods" the Olympian crew, Milton is not ready to commit himself unreservedly to the proposition that they were among the crew in Hell on Biblical grounds. There is no appeal, therefore, to authoritative reality in the description of the Greek gods as there is in the description of those clearly mentioned in the Bible -- or even of those not mentioned (Osiris, Isis, Orus) when the inference may be reasonably made that the worship of these

deities in Egypt resulted in the infection of Israel with idolatry and the worship of the golden calf in Mount Horeb. Even Thammuz (Adonis) takes his place among the devil-deities with Biblical authority because of Ezekiel's reference to him (Ezekiel 8:13-14).

Book II

Biblical truth, and thus Biblical authority, comes sometimes from strange lips. Satan and his cohorts often pervert the Scriptures, as might be expected, but they sometimes are given speeches in which they are telling the truth, and Milton gives the clues that point to Biblical authority, thus communicating the conviction that truth is being spoken. When Beelzebub, Satan's second in command, rises as a front man for Satan to present the policy of indirect war by guile, he refers, in Biblical terms, to the possibility of a newly created world including a creature called man.

What if we find
Some easier enterprize? There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heav'n
Err not) another World, the happy seat
Of som new Race call'd Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In power and excellence, but favour'd more
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an Oath,
That shook Heav'n's whol circumference, confirm'd.

(P. L., II, 344-353)

The reference to the favored position of man is not in Biblical language, but the idea is reminiscent of the familiar question of the psalmist (Psalm 8:4-5), especially as quoted by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews:

What is man, that thou art mindful of him: or the
Sonne of man that thou visitest him? Thou madest

him a little lower then the Angels, thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the workes of thy hands.

(Hebrews 2:6-7)

Beelzebub's statement that God's will to make man was confirmed by an oath which shook Heaven, however, carries Biblical authority in Biblical language.

Wherein God willing more abundantly to shewe unto the heyres of promise the immutabilitie of his counsell, confirmed it by an oath.

(Hebrews 6:17)

Whose voice then shooke the earth, but now hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.

(Hebrews 12:26)

Milton has combined the language of two texts neither of which has anything to do with the creation of the world or man. The first refers to God's promise to Abraham of a blessing upon all his posterity, and the second to the consummation of all things at the return of Christ to the earth; both are taken out of context to add to the authoritativeness and convincing power of Beelzebub's speech.⁵ Beelzebub is the only speaker in the council of devils whose speech includes Scriptural language for authority; the others (Moloch, Belial, and

⁵There is an allusion here, however, to a text which does concern the making of a man, a text which, if it is considered a Messianic prophecy, adds dramatic irony to Beelzebub's speech: "I will make a man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir. Therefore I will shake the heavens" (Isaiah 13:12-13). This reference is not noted by any of Milton's editors although it seems more appropriate to Beelzebub's speech than others which are noted.

Mammon) use Biblical language sarcastically, a use which increases the dramatic effectiveness of their speeches. Beelzebub, however, is "Majestic though in ruin" even in his use of Biblical allusion, for he is frank and straightforward, facing the truth that war against Heaven cannot prevail and that God will not ignore the devils so that they can build up an independent and rival empire. Of God he says,

For he, be sure,
In highth or depth, still first and last will Reign
Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.

(P. L., II, 323-328)

This is Biblical truth and it is truth in Biblical language. "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last" (Revelation 22:13); "Thy throne (O God) is for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdome is a right sceptre" (Psalm 45:6); "Thou shalt breake them with a rod of yron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessell" (Psalm 2:9): these texts are echoed in Beelzebub's speech, a speech which constitutes the official statement of the devils as to their future line of attack, and these texts reflect with authority the nature of Satan's future activity. His opposition to God is not to be based on any sincere conviction that he can win against the Almighty; rather his whole attempt is to "spite / The great Creatour" while he knows that there can be no ultimate victory for him. Beelzebub's speech and especially the Biblical authoritativeness of the speech adequately define the scope and limitations of the future action of God's enemies, and the reader

is as convinced by Beelzebub's oratory as the devils are but on a different level: the reader recognizes, through Biblical allusion, the truth of God's ultimate victory over evil while the convention of devils does not. Even Beelzebub's final barb, shot at the preceding speakers, is a true picture of the devils' predicament in Biblical language:

Advise if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain Empires.

(P. L., II, 376-378)

The psalmist speaks of

such as sit in darknesse and in the shadow of death:
being bound in affliction and yron: because they
rebelled against the words of God: and contemned
the counsel of the most high.

(Psalm 107:10-11)

For the devils the conclusion of Beelzebub's speech sums up in a vivid image the ridiculousness of Mammon's counsel, which has a few minutes before seemed so superior to that of Moloch and Belial; for the reader the conclusion carries connotations of the ultimate fate of all who rebel against God. Beelzebub's counsel will also, in time, be vain, as Milton carefully states after having hinted at it in the phrase "sit in darkness" with its Biblical overtones.

But their spite still serves
His glory to augment.

(P. L., II, 385-386)

Milton is stating the ad maiorem Dei gloriam theme in non-Biblical language; it is a Christian truth easily acceptable to those

familiar with the psalmist's words, "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain" (Psalm 76:10) and with the words of Joseph to his brothers who had sold him into slavery years before, "But as for you, ye thought evil against me: but God meant it unto good" (Genesis 50:20a).⁶

Book III

Biblical allusion does not give authoritative reality to the scenes in Hell and to the various characters and speakers there alone. As a character in the vast drama of Paradise Lost, God the Father requires Biblical credentials to make his statements authoritative as well. In Book III he restates the theme of his own ultimate victory over Satan. Addressing his "Onely begotten Son" (1. 80, John 1:18), he says of Satan, who has arrived at the "bare outside of this World":

so bent he seems
On desperat revenge, that shall redound
Upon his own rebellious head.

(P. L., III, 84-86)

Here God is using a Biblical expression so common as to be unmistakable. There are many statements of like meaning in the Bible (I

⁶It has been evident in this discussion of Beelzebub's speech that the allusions pointed out characterize the speaker, foreshadow future action, and provide thematic statement as well as give authority to the speech; such overlapping of function is to be expected in the work of a master of the Bible like Milton. Although the attempt to categorize his allusions is sometimes based on arbitrary separation, a definite pattern is discernible, and that pattern is the basis for the organization of this study.

Samuel 25:39, II Chronicles 6:23; Nehemiah 4:4; Esther 9:25; Ezekiel 9:10, 11:21; Joel 3:4; Judges 9:57); one that will suffice as a source is, "His mischiefe shall returne upon his owne head, & his violent dealing shal come downe upon his owne pate" (Psalm 7:16). Exonerating himself from any fault in the forthcoming Fall of man, God uses the language of the Preacher of Ecclesiastes, "God hath made man up-right: but they have sought out many inventions" (Eccles. 7:29), when he says,

I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

(P. L., III, 98-99)

All of what the Father and the Son say in Book III is based on Milton's interpretation of the Scriptures and much of it is in Scriptural language that can be traced to specific texts. An example from the Father's speech has been given; below is the passage from the speech by the Son in which he volunteers himself as a sacrifice to redeem mankind and prophesies concerning his resurrection and triumph over death and the grave.

Though now to Death I yield, and am his due
All that of me can die, yet that debt paid,
Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave
His prey, nor suffer my unspotted Soule
For ever with corruption there to dwell;
For I shall rise Victorious, and subdue
My Vanquisher, spoild of his vanted spoile;
Death his deaths wound shall then receive, & stoop
Inglorious, of his mortall sting disarm'd.
I through the ample Air in Triumph high
Shall lead Hell Captive mangre Hell, and show
The powers of darkness bound. Thou at the sight
Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
While by thee rais'd I ruin all my Foes,

Death last, and with his Carcass glut the Grave.

(P. L., III, 245-259)

Milton has blended the words of a Messianic psalm in which David says prophetically, speaking in the person of Christ, "For thou wilt not leave my soule in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy one to see corruption" (Psalm 16:10) with Paul's statement of Christ's having "spoyled principalities and powers triumphing over them in it" (Colossians 2:15), Paul's image of sin as "the sting of death" (I Corinthians 15:56), his portrayal of the ascension of Christ having "led captivity captive" (Ephesians 4:8), his statement that the "last enemy that shall bee destroyed, is death" (I Corinthians 15: 26), and his description of all the powers in opposition to God as the "powers of darknesse" (Colossians 1:13); then, a few lines later, Milton has the Son conclude this speech with another allusion to the psalm first referred to when he says that after his resurrection he will enjoy "in thy presence Joy entire" (l. 265), alluding to "In thy presence is fulnes of joy" (Psalm 16:11). Of course, one does not have to recognize all these references to respond to the poetry or to feel the effect of Biblical authority behind it; but when one's conviction that truth has been expressed is analyzed, its origin is seen primarily in the careful interweaving of Biblical language.

The hymns of the angels include a great deal of Biblical allusion. After God the Father has given a résumé, practically all in Biblical phraseology, of Christ's work from the Fall to the rising

of the New Heaven and New Earth, the angels "introduce / Thir sacred Song" (ll. 368-69).

Ther Father first they sung Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King; ther Author of all being,
 Fountain of Light, thy self invisible
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
 Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
 The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant Shrine,
 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appeer,
 Yet dazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim
 Approach not, but with both wings veil thir eyes.
 Ther next they sang of all Creation first,
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
 In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud
 Made visible, th' Almighty Father shines,
 Whom else no Creature can behold; on thee
 Imprest the effulgence of his Glorie abides,
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.

(P. L., III, 372-389)

In the portion of this angelic hymn addressed to the Father (ll. 372-382), Milton has combined the song of the heavenly multitude in the Apocalypse, "Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth" (Revelation 19:6), with Paul's doxologies in his epistle to Timothy "unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible" (I Timothy 1:17) "who only hath immortalitie, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seene, nor can see" (I Timothy 6:16), and with Isaiah's vision of the seraphim before the throne of God, each one covering his face with two of his wings (Isaiah 6:2). Then the Son is hymned (ll. 383-389) in phrases reminiscent of Paul's description of Christ as "the first borne of every creature" (Colossians 1:15) and as the one in whose face the knowledge of the glory of God shines (II Corinthians 4:6) and of John's phrase "onely begotten

Sonne" (John 1:18, 3:16). From John also come the ideas of God's being visible only through the Son ("No man hath seene God at any time: the onely begotten Sonne, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him," John 1:18) and of Christ's having the fulness of the Spirit ("For God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him," John 3:34).

It has been pointed out by C. S. Lewis that generations of orthodox Christian readers have read Paradise Lost without realizing that there were heretical doctrines involved in the poem, and one Roman Catholic Sister has written on the orthodoxy of Milton's long epic, defending Milton even from the point of view of a strict Trinitarian.⁷ It may well be that the Biblical allusions and familiar Biblical language which Milton used, especially in the speeches in Heaven by and about the Father and the Son, account as much as anything for the acceptance by the reader of what is said as being authoritative. Certain it is that one thoroughly acquainted with

⁷Professor Lewis says, "Heretical elements exist in it, but are only discoverable by search: any criticism which forces them into the foreground is mistaken and ignores the fact that this poem was accepted by many generations of acute readers well grounded in theology" (A Preface to Paradise Lost [London, 1942], p. 81); Sister Miriam Joseph, C. S. C., says, "With respect to the three Persons of the Trinity and the work of creation, as the quoted passages witness, Paradise Lost seems in harmony with the teachings of Catholic theologians. Especially in expressing the equality of the Son with the Father, the poem appears to accord with Catholic dogma; at least, it would hardly lead the ordinary reader to suspect its author of the heresies he had set forth in De Doctrina Christiana" (Orthodoxy in Paradise Lost [Quebec, 1954], p. 258).

the Bible and believing the Bible more or less literally responds to the poem as Biblically authoritative and thus "real"; and the use Milton makes of the Bible largely accounts for this response.

Book IV

The use of Biblical allusion in the first three books of Paradise Lost for the authoritative establishment of details of scenery has not been discussed. Hell's burning lake, chains, and darkness are all, of course, based on the Bible picture of Hell; Heaven's golden streets (so closely viewed by Mammon), God's throne, the angels' harps, and the sea of jasper are likewise Scriptural. It is in Book IV, however, that Milton shows to greatest advantage his ability to give a scene and characters an air of authoritative reality while using his creative imagination as freely as he had done in the scenes in Heaven and in Hell. Eden, first seen through the eyes of Satan and described both through him and directly by the poet, is a real place, the authority for which is firmly tied to Genesis at key points in the description. T. S. Eliot has commented on the vagueness and generality of Milton's description of Eden, a generality which Mr. Eliot praises for its effect on the reader while he censures Milton (by implication at least) for not having had greater visual powers of description.⁸ But actually Milton has

⁸Mr. Eliot seems to feel that Milton's faults became his virtues (which shows one way of revising one's critical opinions about a great poet without having to retract any specific criticisms of his poetry); Milton's "limited interest in human beings . . . turns out to be a positive virtue, when we visit Adam and Eve in Eden," and

managed to give the Garden of Eden convincing reality for the Bible-oriented reader by a skillful use of highly specific detail drawn from both the Genesis account and his own imagination. (Certainly the Genesis account contains about as little as any artist ever had to go on, short of having no model at all except in his mind.)

Milton's Eden is anything but vague and general. From a sun-based astronomer's telescopic view of Earth, Paradise, and Adam's bower, Milton brings Satan (and the reader) gradually closer until the individual kinds of trees ("Cedar, and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm," l. 139) can be identified, still closer so that the brilliant, "gay enameld" colors of the blossoming and fruit-bearing trees can be seen, and even closer until the "balmie spoiles" (l. 159) can be smelled. Disdaining to enter the gate, the "first grand Thief" leaps over the wall of trees into "Gods Fould"; once Satan is inside Milton's description begins to take on Scriptural authority. Satan alights atop the Tree of Life, described as the "middle Tree and highest there that grew" (l. 195), since the Biblical account places

his "weakness of visual observation," while it keeps us from seeing Eden clearly, results in an emphasis on sound of which the end is "the unique versification that is the most certain sign of Milton's intellectual mastership." As for Eden, "a more vivid picture of the earthly Paradise would have been less paradisiacal. For a greater definiteness, a more detailed account of flora and fauna, could only have assimilated Eden to the landscapes of earth with which we are familiar. As it is, the impression of Eden which we retain is the most suitable, and is that which Milton was most qualified to give: the impression of light -- a daylight and a starlight, a light of dawn and of dusk, the light which, remembered by a man in his blindness, has a supernatural glory unexperienced by men of normal vision." Quoted in Milton Criticism: Selections from Four Centuries, ed. James Thorpe (New York, 1950), p. 323.

the Tree of Life in the "midst of the garden" (Genesis 2:9). Here Biblical authority adds weight to a Miltonic idea. The Bible does not describe the Tree of Life as the highest; yet the description seems "right," because of its conjunction with "middle." Milton, with his careful attention to the text, makes a distinction that many preachers did not (and do not) make: the Garden is not identical with Eden, it is in Eden.

for blissful Paradise
Of God the Garden was, by him in the East
Of Eden planted.

(P. L., IV, 209-211)

"And the LORD God planted a garden Eastward in Eden" (Genesis 2:8). Remembering that the meaning of the Biblical word Eden in the original Hebrew is "pleasant," Milton says:

in this pleasant soile
His farr more pleasant Garden God ordaind;
Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow
All Trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
And all amid them stood the Tree of Life,
High eminent, blooming Ambrosial Fruit
Of vegetable Gold; and next to Life
Our Death the Tree of Knowledge grew fast by,
Knowledge of Good bought dear by knowing ill.
Southward through Eden went a River large
.....
and with many a rill
Waterd the Garden; thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the neather Flood,
.....
And now divided into four main Streams,
Runs divers, wandring many a famous Realme.

(P. L., IV, 215-23, 229-31, 233-34)

How carefully this description is based on Scripture and how beautifully the poet visualized and expressed the Scriptural account are

evident when a comparison is made between the original and Milton.

And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evill. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted and became into foure heads.

(Genesis 2:9-10)

This description is followed in Genesis by an account of the four streams and the lands through which they flowed; but Milton exercised restraint (though one can imagine what a wonderfully sonorous passage could have been created with the names of the rivers, lands, and minerals of Genesis 2:11-14) because of these things "here needs no account" (l. 235). The poet's main purpose is not to be deflected by his love of sound; what is needed here is "to tell how, if Art could tell, / . . . the crisped Brooks, / Ran Nectar, visiting each plant, and fed, / Flours worthy of Paradise" (ll. 236-37, 240-41). And it is not just the sound that Milton gives up by omission; more authoritativeness could be given his poetic account by a listing of the Biblical rivers and the lands they watered. But the attention of the reader is to be focused on the Garden, on Paradise, not on lands outside, and enough authority is provided without sacrificing that focus. A slight touch like "Flours of all hue, and without Thorn the Rose" (l. 256) can communicate authoritative reality, for the reader (whether or not he consciously thinks of it) knows that "thorns . . . and thistles" were brought about as a result of the curse God put on the ground for man's sake consequent to the Fall (Genesis 3:18).

Adam and Eve are first seen through the eyes of Satan. He, being a supernatural being and lately a resident of Heaven, is a better judge of man's Godlikeness than the poet or the reader could be, and he recognizes immediately "in thir looks Divine / The image of thir glorious Maker" (ll. 291-92), echoing

So God created man in his owne Image, in the Image of
God created he him; male and female created he them.

(Genesis 1:27)

Then, just as in the Genesis account the general statement of the creation of mankind as male and female is followed by a detailed account of the creation of Adam and Eve, the poet follows the general statement that the image of God shone in both Adam and Eve by a detailed explanation of the difference between them and of Adam's superiority. The repetition of "seemd" (ll. 290, 291, 296) keeps the reader conscious of the fact that Satan is the observer through whom the two are first seen; then the "seemd" is dropped and Milton himself speaks of their difference in outward appearance, a difference which is symbolic of man's superior nature: "Hee for God only, shee for God in him" (l. 299). As in the description of the Garden, a visual image is called for here, for the reader is to form an impression of the human pair at this point that he will maintain throughout the poem; thus Milton makes his point of man's headship over woman with a visual image of the two which emphasizes the appearance of their hair. The Puritans of Milton's "fit audience" certainly would not have missed the point here, and neither does the modern reader who knows the Bible. Adam's "Hyacinthin Locks /

Round from his parted forelock manly hung / Clustering, but not beneath
his shoulders broad" (ll. 301-303). Of Eve, Milton says,

Shee as a vail down to the slender waste
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the Vine curls her tendrils, which impli'd
Subjection.

(P. L., IV, 304-308)

The length of the hair was described by Paul as symbolic of the man's
authority and of the woman's subjection.

But I would have you know, that the head of every man
is Christ: and the head of the woman is the man, and
the head of Christ is God The woman is the
glory of the man . . . Neither was the man created for
the woman: but the woman for the man. For this cause
ought the woman to have power [A. V. margin, 'That is,
a covering, in signe that she is under the power of her
husband'] on her head, because of the Angels
Doeth not even nature it selfe teach you, that if a man
have long haire, it is a shame unto him? But if a wom-
an have long haire, it is a glory to her: for her haire
is given her for a covering.

(I Corinthians 11:3, 7-10, 14-15)

By reference to the Bible, Milton makes us aware of the divine order
of the sexes and thus foreshadows the means by which Satan will enter
an opening wedge. After her Satan-induced dream in which she imagines
herself eating the forbidden fruit, it is Eve's unwillingness to keep
her place of subjection to and dependence upon Adam that causes her
to leave his side and to have to face alone the wiles of the Tempter.

In alluding thus to a Scripture regulating the hair-length
of men and women as symbolic of the divine order of male and female,
Milton is, of course, projecting New Testament standards, and seven-
teenth century Puritan standards, back to the innocent pair in Eden

before the Fall; but by so doing, he could communicate all that has been indicated in this discussion and perhaps more. Certainly by such a projection he could add to the description not only Biblical authority but also reality: Adam and Eve are the perfect, sinless example of what a Christian wife and husband should be. Milton employs a similar projection of New Testament standards back to the Garden of Eden when he describes the connubial love of the innocent pair, who

eas'd the putting off
These troublesom disguises which wee wear,
Strait side by side were laid, nor turnd I weene
Adam from his fair Spouse, nor Eve the Rites
Mysterious of connubial Love refus'd.

(P. L., IV, 739-743)

"Rites / Mysterious" is an allusion to Paul's statement, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shalbe joyned unto his wife, and they two shalbe one flesh. This is a great mysterie: but I speake concerning Christ and the Church" (Ephesians 5:31-32). Perhaps because of his own experience, perhaps not, Milton is assuming that our first parents maintained by instinct and mutual love a principle Paul laid down for Christian marriage.

The wife hath not power of her owne body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his owne body, but the wife. Defraud you not one the other, except it bee with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer, and come together againe, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinencie.

(I Corinthians 7:4-5)

Throughout Milton's indignant indictment of those who bid men abstain

from marriage and throughout his apostrophe to wedded love which follow the scene in which Adam and Eve retire for the night, appropriate Biblical allusions are made which add authority to Milton's views on marriage. Especially interesting is his method of allusion to defend his placing of sexual relationships in Paradise against hypocrites who "austerely talk / Of puritie and place and innocence" (l. 745), wishing to assign sexual love to the period after the Fall rather than before. When Milton says, "Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain / But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man?" (ll. 748-49) he is presenting, as an argument for including wedded love in Eden, an allusion to God's command which antedated both Temptation and Fall, "Be fruitfull and multiply" (Genesis 1:28). Milton apparently considered this command a more important argument for including wedded love in Paradise than the fact that the Bible states that Adam knew Eve after their expulsion (Genesis 4:1) was for excluding it. In accord with his method of projecting New Testament doctrine back into Paradise, he all but quotes Paul for his authority. Speaking of "wedded Love," he says,

Farr be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual Fountain of Domestic sweets,
Whose Bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc't,
Present, or past, as Saints and Patriarchs us'd.

(P. L., IV, 758-762)

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, "Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled" (Hebrews 13:4), a statement which Milton says pronounces the marriage bed chaste for present or

past, thus showing that his projection of New Testament standards of Christian morality back to Eden is deliberate.⁹

Milton's Biblical allusions in Book IV give authoritative reality to the Garden of Eden and to Adam and Eve as human beings for one who knows and believes the Bible or for one who is willing to suspend his disbelief for the sake of enjoying the poem. Since most seventeenth century readers subscribed formally to a belief in the Bible even if there were no vital involvement in that belief, the allusions placing Adam and Eve's relationship in a setting of New Testament (and seventeenth century Christian) concepts of the order of the sexes and the marriage relationship give a convincing contemporary reality to them. In addition, the same allusions to the "Rites / Mysterious" establish a vertical or figural connection between the pair in Paradise and Christ as the Bridegroom coming again for his Bride, the Church.

Book V

For his first description of communication between heavenly beings and those of earth, Milton departed from the Genesis account in which God is the first communicant with man (Genesis 2:16-17) and has God send the angel Raphael to warn Adam of the danger lurking in Paradise and to inform him of things lawful for him to

⁹The last part of Hebrews 13:4 -- "but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge" -- may have inspired Milton's condemnation of "the bought smile / Of Harlots" (ll. 765-66) which follows his praise of married love.

know. In the total scheme of Paradise Lost Milton follows Genesis, for Adam relates to Raphael (Book VIII) his first contact with a heavenly being as having been with God; but for purposes of his own unfolding of the great drama, Milton chose to reveal first the human pair conversing, then communication between man and the "sociable Spirit" Raphael, and only then to relate the conversation between Adam and his Maker. The visit of Raphael serves many purposes: it presents God as giving man every possible forewarning of the danger of disobedience, it prepares the reader for contact between human and divine actors, and it provides a means for filling in events leading up to Satan's fall. One of the most important functions of the Raphael visit is to give Biblical authority to a fundamental philosophic assumption of the poem: that divine events must be described in material terms. Raphael says,¹⁰

what surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best, though what if Earth
Be but the shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein
Each to other like, more then on earth is thought?

(P. L., V, 571-577)

¹⁰James Holly Hanford (A Milton Handbook, Fourth Edition [New York, 1954], p. 205) says of Raphael's speech: "The philosophic assumption which underlies the narrative and indeed Milton's whole conception of his poem, is given in lines 563-77. Spiritual facts can only be so represented to human sense, but there is also a real analogy between earth and Heaven, the former being, according to the Platonic doctrine of ideas, an imperfect replica of the latter, and this analogy justifies the phrasing of divine events in material terms." Milton has behind him, in addition to Plato, the authority of the writer of Hebrews, whose description of the earthly temple and priesthood in comparison to the heavenly sanctuary and Christ as the eternal Priest is in terms of "the example and shadow of heavenly things" (Heb. 8:5).

It is to provide a rationale for this assumption that Milton has Raphael partake of a meal with Adam and Eve; the angel's capacity for material food demonstrates his own materiality though it is of a different consistency from Adam's. It is interesting to trace Milton's Biblical allusions in relation to Raphael and to the particular problem of spiritual materiality.

When God calls Raphael to give him the commission to forewarn Adam, Raphael is described as "the sociable Spirit, that design'd / To travel with Tobias, and secur'd / His marriage with the seaventimes-wedded Maid" (P. L., V, 221-23). The allusion is to the familiar story in the Apocryphal Book of Tobit: Tobias was aided by the angel Raphael in overcoming an evil spirit, Asmodeus, who had killed the seven previous bridegrooms of Tobias' love, Sara, in the bridal chamber (Tobit 5:4-6, 3:8). Here Milton is using authority in reverse; he wishes to establish the basic material similarity of men and angels and of all created things, and yet he makes explicit allusion to an apocryphal story, an important and well-known aspect of which was the denial of just such materiality of angels. The reason becomes evident when Milton, who has already alluded to the story of the angels' visit to Abraham on the plains of Mamre when Sarah prepared food for them and "they did eat" (Genesis 18:1-8; P. L., V, 299-313, 659-60), refers to "the common gloss / Of Theologians" (ll. 345-46) that angels, such as those described in Genesis as enjoying the hospitality of Abraham, do not really eat but merely seem to do so. For such a gloss, the theologians usually depended on Raphael's statement to Tobias, "I did

neither eat nor drinke, but yee did see a vision" (Tobit 12:19). Raphael had disguised himself as a man during the time spent with Tobias, hence his need to identify himself after his mission was accomplished. His denial of having really assimilated food was accompanied by the solemn declaration, "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy Angels, which present the prayers of the Saints, and which goe in and out before the glory of the Holy one" (Tobit 12:15). This did not prevent Milton's portrayal of the same angel as really eating the fruits of Paradise just as Adam ate them.

So down they sat,
And to their viands fell, nor seemingly
The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss
Of Theologians, but with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate.¹¹

(P. L., V, 433-438)

Raphael speaks of the food in Heaven in language that

¹¹An excellent summary discussion of the background of Milton's doctrine that angels actually eat and assimilate human food into their bodies is that by Robert H. West in his Milton and the Angels (Athens, Ga., 1955), pp. 164-69. Professor West sees Milton as, like Robert Fludd, using this point in angelology "to support a contention larger than angelology": that nature's scale rises in a telescoping succession in which the higher comprehends the lower and the whole of the lower may be translated into the higher. If man had not fallen, he might have eventually turned "all to Spirit" Raphael tells Adam (V, 496), and with such a conception of the universe, it is to Milton's advantage to picture Raphael assimilating human food. His reference to "the common gloss / Of Theologians" is shown by Professor West to be a glance at the Church Fathers and practically all their successors, both Catholic and Protestant, except Robert Fludd, since all of them had felt it necessary to explain away the angels' eating at Abraham's tent (Gen. 18:1-8) by reference to Raphael's explanation to Tobias that his eating was not actual but merely visionary (Tobit 12:19).

clearly alludes to Scripture as he accepts Adam's invitation to partake of earthly fruits:

though in Heav'n the Trees
Of life ambrosial frutage bear, and vines
Yield Nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn
We brush mellifluous Dewes, and find the ground
Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here
Varied his bounty so with new delights,
As may compare with Heaven.

(P. L., V, 426-432)

In the Holy City which John saw come down from God out of Heaven, there was "the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month" (Revelation 22:2), and when Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper he said to his disciples of the wine they were drinking, "I will not drinke henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drinke it newe with you in my Fathers kingdome" (Matthew 26:29); Raphael's description, therefore, carries Biblical authority. Even more authoritative than these references, however, is the allusion to the manna dropped from heaven for the Israelites in the wilderness, described as being "like Coriander seede, white" (Exodus 16:31) and as coming with the dew in the morning.

And in the morning the dew lay round about the hosts.
And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon
the face of the wilderness there lay a small round
thing, as small as the hoare frost on the ground.

(Exodus 16:13b-14)

When the reader recalls that one of the psalms refers to this manna as "the corne of heaven" and "Angels foode" (Psalm 78:24, 25), Raphael's (and Milton's) point has the authoritative reality of Scripture.

After their meal, Adam inquires further about the comparative quality of human and angelic feasts, giving Raphael opportunity to discourse on the relationship of body and spirit with Biblical allusions to add authority.

O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
 All things proceed, and up to him return,
 If not deprav'd from good, created all
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,
 As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending
 Each in thir several active Sphears assignd,
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportiond to each kind. So from the root
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aerie, last the bright consummate floure
 Spirits odorous breathes: flours and thir fruit
 Mans nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
 To vital Spirits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual, give both life and sense,
 Fancie and understanding, whence the soule
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance; time may come when men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare:
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
 Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,
 Improv'd by tract of time, and wingd ascend
 Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice
 Here or in Heav'nly Paradises dwell;
 If ye be found obedient, and retain
 Unalterably firm his love entire
 Whose progenie you are.

(P. L., V, 469-503)

This passage begins with an allusion to the Biblical statement that
 "of him, and through him, and to him, are all things" (Romans 11:36)

and expands that conception into a kind of unbroken continuum of matter "Differing but in degree, of kind the same," except, of course, for the exclusion of that which is "deprav'd from good" from returning to God. In Henry John Todd's edition of Paradise Lost, Bishop Newton is quoted to the effect that this passage, though probably based on the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, contradicts the principle of boundaries between species or kinds. Bishop Newton, commenting on lines 478 and following, says:

This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the bounds proportion'd to each kind. I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in I Cor. xv. and perhaps borrowed some of it from his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his philosophy, so he was too much of a systematist in his divinity.¹²

But if one understands Milton's qualification to the continuum from body to spirit ("if not deprav'd from good") and if it is remembered that I Corinthians 15 is written to fallen men who have been redeemed, one can see this passage as in harmony with Paul's contrast of the earthy and the heavenly; if sin had not entered and death by sin, Raphael's prediction might well have come true. And the message of Pauline Christianity is that, through redemption and resurrection, "as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also beare the image of the heavenly" (I Corinthians 15:49), thus bringing Raphael's prediction to pass ultimately but by different means than by human

¹²The Poetical Works of John Milton (London, 1801), II, 385. (Note on P. L., V, 478 ff.)

obedience. Through Biblical allusion in Raphael's discourse, there is a foreshadowing of the grace of God bringing good out of the sin of man. Raphael says, "Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit" (l. 497), "If ye be found obedient" (l. 501); yet the reader realizes, as he recognizes the allusion to I Corinthians, that in spite of man's disobedience, through God's grace and the obedience of Christ on behalf of man, the body of a believer who dies "is sown a naturall body, it is raised a spirituall bodie" (I Corinthians 15:44). The image of the root, stalk, leaves, and flowers in Raphael's discourse may have been suggested by the similar Biblical image of the resurrection:

that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other graine: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, & to every seed his own body.

(I Corinthians 15:37-38)

Bishop Newton apparently read the chapter from Paul's epistle as a setting up of a dichotomy between body and spirit, natural and spiritual, terrestrial and celestial, earthly and heavenly, while Milton read it as suggesting the possibility of rising from a lower form to a higher. Since God promised, in the Bible, such an ascension in form to fallen and redeemed man, it is logical to assume, as Milton did, that such a possibility was held out to unfallen man. Finally, the reminder to Adam of his own dignity and divine origin in the phrase "Whose progenie you are" is an echo of Paul's "For we are all his offspring" (Acts 17:28b) in his sermon to the Athenians on the subject of the resurrection. The end result of the Biblical allusions

here is to give the reader a feeling of sadness at the thought of what "might have been" for Adam and his posterity, since it is known that he will not be obedient, mixed with intimations of hope for a similar or even better future for redeemed and resurrected man. Perhaps more important for the reader's acceptance of the material war of spirits to be related in Books V and VI, the philosophical basis on which spiritual forms are to be likened to corporal forms is the possibility that "Earth / Be but the shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein / Each to other like, more then on earth is thought" (ll. 574-76), a possibility that has been given some degree of Biblical authoritative reality.

Book VI

A use of Biblical allusion to give authoritative reality which combines the method of projecting New Testament principles back into pre-Fall (in the case to be discussed, even pre-creation) times with the suggestion of the similarity between the materiality of man and of the angels is seen in Book VI on the second day of the war in Heaven.

Up rose the Victor Angels, and to Arms
The matin Trumpet Sung: in Arms they stood
Of Golden Panoplie, refulgent Host
Soon banded . . .

.
Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
Came flying, and in mid Aire aloud thus cri'd.

Arme, Warriours, Arme for fight, the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day, fear not his flight; so thick a Cloud
He comes, and settl'd in his face I see
Sad resolution and secure: let each
Fit well his Helme, gripe fast his orbed Shield,
Born eevn or high, for this day will pour down,

If I conjecture aught, no drizzling shower,
But rattling storm of Arrows barbed with fire.

(P. L., VI, 525-28, 535-46)

By Biblical language Milton parallels the war in Heaven of the elect angels against the fallen angels with the warfare of the Christian against the wiles of the Devil. "Panoplie" (of which more will be said in the next chapter) is a transliteration of *πανοπλία* in Ephesians 6:11, and how closely Zophiel follows the listing of the particular items of that "whole armour" may be seen in the following verses.

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth,
and having on the breastplate of righteousness; above
all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shalbe
able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And
take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the
Spirit, which is the worde of God.

(Ephesians 6:14, 16, 17)

The Biblical language here denotes specific material objects -- helmet, shield, arrows or darts -- taken from a passage, which is obviously not to be taken literally, concerning the spiritual warfare of a Christian. The result is authoritative reality and, at the same time, a suggestion in accord with Raphael's statement that he is using corporeal forms as a means of communicating spiritual realities to the human mind.

On the third day of the battle, when the Son of God goes forth to war, his chariot ("The Chariot of Paternal Deitie") is described in the language of Ezekiel's vision by the river Chebar.

Wheeke within Wheele undrawn,
It self instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd

By four Cherubic shapes, four Faces each
 Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all
 And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the Wheels
 Of Beril, and careering Fires between;
 Over thir heads a chrystal Firmament,
 Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure
 Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch.

(P. L., VI, 751-759)

In Ezekiel's vision, "the spirit of the living creature was in the wheelles" (Ezekiel 1:20), the four living creatures "every one had foure faces" (1:6), their bodies were in appearance like "burning coles of fire" that "went up and downe among the living creatures" (1:13), "their rings were ful of eyes" (1:18) and the wheels "like unto the colour of a Berill" (1:16), over their heads was a firmament "as the colour of the terrible chrystal" (1:22), and above that "the likenesse of a Throne, as the appearance of a Saphyre stone" (1:26) with the "colour of amber" (1:27) and the appearance of "the bow that is in the cloud in the day of raine" (1:28). Ezekiel later saw the same vision inside the Temple of God with the addition of seeing that their "whole body, and their backes, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheelles, were full of eyes round about" (10:12). Thus a Biblical representation of the glory of God, especially his glory as revealed in judgment upon a disobedient nation, is woven into Milton's description of the Son's avenging chariot as an authoritative image, and yet the nature of the image and its visionary source suggest a spiritual meaning to the Son's conquest as well as a literal one. Raphael's narration, through "measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth" (l. 893),

and through the Biblical allusions involved in the earthly yardsticks used, has been made with authority and reality and, at the same time, with the suggestion that none of the details need be interpreted with complete literalness. The fact of Satan's rebellion and consequent expulsion from Heaven by the power of the Father through the agency of the Son is, however, to be taken literally to teach "By terrible Example the reward / Of disobedience" (l. 912).

Book VII

Much of Book VII in Raphael's account of the creation is almost verbatim from the Authorized Version of the Bible. Most of the variations are accounted for by the requirements of poetry as contrasted with the prose of Genesis; some variations are a result of Milton's knowledge of the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and will be discussed in the following chapter on Milton's linguistic versatility. In the account of the six days of creation Milton shows remarkable skill in following the English Bible very closely and yet managing to work in his own interpretations with enough allusions from books of the Bible other than Genesis to support such interpretations. For example, his famous image of the "golden Compasses" used by the Son in his act of circumscribing a section of the boundless deep, or chaos, to "Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth" (l. 167) is taken from a text upon which, among others, Milton based his theory of creation as the voluntary putting forth of God's goodness to bring order into a section of eternal matter called chaos rather than as a creation ex nihilo, and the Scripture alluded to

here gives authority to his interpretation. For the allusion in the lines,

in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd
In Gods Eternal store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things,

(P. L., VII, 224-227)

we need look no further, therefore, than the Authorized Version of Proverbs: "When hee prepared the heavens I was there: when hee set a compasse upon the face of the depth" (Proverbs 8:27).¹³

Apparently Milton's explanation of how the sun happened to be made on the fourth day when light sprang forth on the first day of creation is original with him, but, although it is the product of a fertile imagination, it is not cut loose entirely from textual authority.¹⁴ Milton is careful to use language which suggests his Biblical authority.

Let there be light, said God, and forthwith Light
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure

¹³Harris Francis Fletcher (Milton's Rabbinical Readings [Urbana, Ill., 1930], p. 102) argues that the A. V. translation of סופר, "compasses," was not sufficient authority for Milton and that he went to "the commentaries of the rabbis in the Proverbs passage in Buxtorf"; George Newton Conklin (Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton [New York, 1949], pp. 47-49), however, has shown convincingly that the use of the word in the A. V. was supported by the standard lexicons of Milton's day and that there is no need to look further than the A. V. for the source of the compass image.

¹⁴Bishop Newton, as quoted in Todd's edition of P. L., indicates originality when he speaks of Milton's "different hypothesis," but he warns: "Let it be remembered that this is all hypothesis and that the Scripture determines nothing one way or the other" (Todd, Poetical Works, III, 34). In spite of the fact that he did not convince the Bishop, it is clear that Milton sought to support his theory by subtle Biblical allusion.

Sprung from the Deep, and from her Native East
 To journie through the airie gloom began,
 Sphear'd in a radiant Cloud, for yet the Sun
 Was not; shee in a cloudie Tabernacle
 Sojourn'd the while. God saw the Light was good;
 And Light from Darkness by the Hemisphere
 Divided: Light the Day, and Darkness Night
 He nam'd. Thus was the first Day Ev'n and Morn.

(P. L., VII, 243-252)

The main body of this passage is from Genesis:

And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.
 And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divid-
 ed the light from the darknesse. And God called the
 light Day, and the darknesse he called Night. And the
 evening and the morning were the first day.

(Genesis 1:3-5)

But by reference to the light sojourning in a "cloudie Tabernacle"
 until the sun was created, Milton gives the clue to his Scriptural
 authority for an idea to be expatiated on when he describes the fourth
 day and the creation of the sun; the Scripture is Psalm 19.

The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament
 sheweth his handiwork Their line is gone out
 through all the earth, and their words to the end of
 the world. In them hath he set a tabernacle for the
 Sunne.

(Psalm 19:1, 4)

Then after the account of the fourth day (again almost quoting ver-
 batim from the A. V.), which includes Milton's detailed explanation
 of the sun's orb being created porous so as to receive and retain
 "by farr the greater part" of light, Milton alludes again to Psalm
 19 when he says,

First in his East the glorious Lamp was seen,
 Regent of Day, and all th' Horizon round

Invested with bright Rayes, jocond to run
His longitude through Heav'ns high rode.

(P. L., VII, 370-373)

The psalmist speaks of the sun

as a bridegrome coming out of his chamber, and re-
joyceth as a strong man to run a race. His going
foorth is from the ends of the heaven, and his cir-
cuit unto the ends of it.

(Psalm 19:5-6)

The reader is conscious of Milton's fidelity to Genesis throughout most of the description of creation, while Biblical allusions to books other than Genesis (such as the one just discussed) lend subtle support to Milton's own interpretations.

Of course, there is much more to Book VII; it contains some of Milton's most beautiful visual images: the "Fish that with thir Finns & shining Scales / Glide under the green Wave," "the Swan with Arched neck / Between her white wings mantling proudly, Rows / Her state with Oarfe feet," the insects "In all the Liveries dect of Summers pride / With spots of Gold and Purple, azure and green," and the lion being brought forth from the earth "pawing to get free / His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds, / And Rampant shakes his Brinded main." Yet none of the images are overly extravagant or fanciful, many have their origin in Scriptural phrases, and what might be regarded as simply beautiful poetry is really beautiful poetry firmly based in a context of Biblical authoritative reality.

Book VIII

Raphael's description of the creation of man in Book VII is

confined to a comparatively few lines and is not very detailed. In Book VIII it is explained that he and other angels were serving as a security watch at the gates of Hell when Adam was created; by this means Milton prepares the way for Adam to tell of his own creation.

Earlier in Book VIII, Raphael, in the discussion of the relation of earth to the astronomical universe, has referred to the starry heavens as

the Book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous Works, and learne
His Seasons, Hours, or Days, or Months, or Yeares.

(P. L., VIII, 67-69)

The idea of the created universe as a Book of God is based primarily on the psalmist's view of the heavens as giving testimony to the existence and glory of God in a universal language understandable to all men:

The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge.
There is no speech nor language, where their voyce is not heard.

(Psalm 19:1-3)

In the New Testament, Paul used this idea of a revelation of God through Nature as an argument for the inexcusability of heathen idolatry. All creation speaks to man of a Creator, a Maker, and should lead him to worship the Creator and not the creature.

For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seene, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternall Power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse.

(Romans 1:20)

The Biblical allusions of Raphael's statement prepare the way for Adam's explanation of how he arrived at the idea of a Maker; he followed the reasoning that any rational being could follow, and from the world around him and from his own existence he concluded the existence of God. Adam's process of reasoning leads him to wish to know and adore God as the One responsible for his being. Delighted by his own body and mind, the flora and fauna around him, and his power to speak and name whatever he sees, Adam says to the universe around him,

Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here?
Not of my self; by some great Maker then,
In goodness and in power praes eminent;
Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,
From whom I have that thus I move and live,
And feel that I am happier than I know.

(P. L., VIII, 277-282)

Adam's unfallen intellect provides him with a philosophical starting point which is a step farther along than the starting point of Descartes; instead of cogito ergo sum, Adam is saying, in effect, sum ergo Deus est. The Biblical reminiscence of the line "From whom I have that thus I move and live" likens Adam to the pagan philosophers of Athens to whom Paul presented the "unknown God" whom they were ignorantly worshipping as the One in whom "we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17:28). Adam's experience is an illustration of Milton's conviction that knowledge of God can be arrived at by reasoning from the nature of man's mind and the beauty of the universe even when there is no special revelation (in a book or through a missionary) of God; any detailed knowledge of God, however, beyond

the fact of his Godhead, power, and goodness is attainable only by revelation. Adam arrives at the knowledge of God by reason, but he wants to know more of God and to know how to worship God; thus God comes to Adam in a personal revelation when Adam calls for him.¹⁵ The passage in which the "Presence Divine" first speaks to Adam has authoritative Biblical allusions of a particularly important nature.

One came, methought, of shape Divine,
And said, thy Mansion wants thee, Adam, rise,
First Man, of Men innumerable ordain'd
First Father, call'd by thee I come thy Guide
To the Garden of bliss, thy seat prepar'd.
So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd,
And over Fields and Waters, as in Aire
Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
A woodie Mountain.

(P. L., VIII, 295-303)

In the allusions here there is another example of the kind of figurative foreshadowing of future relationships between God and man that has been commented on earlier. The stress on Adam as "First Man" and "First Father" recalls both "Of Mans First Disobedience" of the

¹⁵In his prose treatise on doctrine, Milton says, "The Deity has imprinted upon the human mind so many unquestionable tokens of himself, and so many traces of him are apparent throughout the whole of nature, that no one in his senses can remain ignorant of the truth. There can be no doubt but that every thing in the world, by the beauty of its order, and the evidence of a determinate and beneficial purpose which pervades it, testifies that some supreme efficient Power must have pre-existed, by which the whole was ordained for a specific end No one, however, can have right thoughts of God, with nature or reason alone as his guide, independent of the word, or message of God Such knowledge of the Deity as was necessary for the salvation of man, he has himself of his goodness been pleased to reveal abundantly." "The Christian Doctrine," trans. Bishop Sumner, in The Student's Milton, ed. Frank Allen Patterson (New York, 1947), pp. 923, 924.

first line of the poem and the contrast between "The first man Adam" and the "last Adam" in Scripture (I Corinthians 15:45). The Creator uses other Biblical phrases which suggest his own future incarnation as "the last Adam" to overcome the effects of the Fall, through his ministry and death, and to restore man to his "blissful Seat" (P. L., I, 5). Although there is dramatic irony for the reader of Adam's narration because he knows "the Garden of bliss" will be lost, there is also a vertical connection, by means of the Biblical allusions, to God's eternal purpose to bring good out of evil. This "Mansion" will be lost, but the Son of God is to make and keep the promise,

In my Fathers house are many mansions; if it were not
so I would have told you: I goe to prepare a place
for you.

(John 14:2)

Milton's Biblical allusions, then, help identify the "Presence Divine" who converses with Adam in Book VIII as the Son rather than the Father.

In the passage in which Paradise is committed to Adam's care, Biblical language is used which lends authoritative reality to Adam's account and which, simultaneously, maintains the identity of the Deity who speaks as the Son.

Rejoycing, but with aw
In adoration at his feet I fell
Submit: he rear'd me, & Whom thou soughtst I am,
Said mildly, Author of all this thou seest
Above, or round about thee or beneath.
This Paradise I give thee, count it thine
To Till and keep, and of the Fruit to eate:
Of every Tree that in the Garden grows
Eate freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:
But of the Tree whose operation brings

Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set
 The Pledge of thy Obedience and thy Faith,
 Amid the Garden by the Tree of Life,
 Remember what I warne thee, shun to taste,
 And shun the bitter consequence: for know,
 The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
 Transgrest, inevitably thou shalt dye;
 From that day mortal.

(P. L., VIII, 314-331)

Adam falls prostrate before the glorious appearance of his Maker much as John fell at the feet of the risen Christ on the isle of Patmos (Revelation 1:17) and as Ezekiel fell upon his face before "the appearance of the likenesse of the glory of the LORD" (Ezekiel 1:28); as in both instances mentioned from the Bible, Adam is raised to his feet to hear the Word of God. Furthermore, the Creator echoes the Biblical "I am" of deity in this speech and couples it with the term "Author" (a term caught up and repeated by Adam, who is seeking an appropriate name for his Maker, a few lines later). One of the most serious charges the Pharisees of the New Testament brought against Jesus was that he had claimed to be God, a charge based on his use of the term "I am" ("Before Abraham was, I am," John 8:58), because the term was used by God himself in the Old Testament as a name for the God of the Hebrews (Exodus 3:14). The name "Author" is identified with Christ in the New Testament, where he is described as "the authour of eternall salvation" (Hebrews 5:9) and as "Authour and finisher of our faith" (Hebrews 12:2). In the passage from Milton's epic quoted above, "Author of all this thou seest / Above, or round about thee or beneath" follows the reference to the Son in Colossians as the one by whom "were all things created, that are in heaven, and

that are in earth" (Colossians 1:16). Yet, in spite of the testimony of these Biblical allusions, the fact that the Son is the agent who creates all things, including man, in Book VII, and Milton's consistent portrayal of the Father's communing with man being done either through an angel (as in Books V, VI, XI, and XII) or through the Son (as in Book X), at least one leading scholar of today persists in the view that the Deity represented in Book VIII is the Father.¹⁶ The

¹⁶Maurice Kelley, This Great Argument (Princeton, 1941), pp. 120-21. Professor Kelley makes one of his strongest arguments against the Trinitarian interpretation of Paradise Lost depend on the "Presence Divine" in Book VIII being the Father rather than the Son. He speaks of the failure of Trinitarian scholars to "recognize that in Book VIII of the epic, Milton clearly repeats the Arian dogma of the De Doctrina. In his reply to God, Adam states:

No need that thou
Shouldst propagate, already infinite;
And through all numbers absolute, though One.

(VIII, 419-21)"

Granted that in his prose treatise Milton robs the Son of co-equality with the Father by making the generation of the Son contingent upon the Father's will (since he had no natural necessity to propagate), to call these lines "Arian dogma" is to misunderstand the dramatic situation, the personae involved, and the essential differences between systematic theology and poetry. Adam has asked for a companion, and, in reply to God's suggestion that he be content alone like his Maker, he is pleading his own inferiority as the basis of his need of "social communication" in contrast with the Son's perfect being. If the Deity here is the Father, would he say,

for none I know
Second to mee or like, equal much less,

(VIII, 406-407)

when the Father has called the Son "Second Omnipotence" (VI, 684)? On the other hand, it may be objected, neither would the Son say this with reference to the Father. Although Milton's consistent portrayal

rest of the speech quoted above follows the A. V. of Genesis except for the textual variation "Till" for the A. V. "dress" (l. 320, Gen. 2:15), a variation based on Milton's own interpretation of the Hebrew word involved (the same word translated in the A. V. "till" in Genesis 3:23).

And the LORD God tooke the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dresse it and to keepe it. And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eate. But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evill, thou shalt not eate of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.

(Genesis 2:15-17)

Milton works in, almost imperceptibly, a suggestion of his own interpretation of the reason why Adam and Eve did not die the same day that they ate the forbidden fruit; in the midst of the Son's speech to Adam, as he explains the "bitter consequence" of eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, are the words "From that day mortal" (l. 331). Man's death turns out to be a "long day's dying," for Adam and Eve live long and have children after the Fall; Milton's point is that they became mortal and began to die from

of the Son as the one through whom the Godhead directly communes with men and his use of Biblical allusions which identify the divine speaker in Book VIII with the Christ of the Gospels make it seem clear that the Son is the speaker of the lines quoted above, it is possible that the relation between Father and Son is being disregarded here and that the Son speaks merely as God to man rather than in the capacity of any particular Person of the Godhead. The Biblical allusions discussed in the text above, together with those to be discussed later in connection with the character of the Son (Chapter Four), do, however, seem to make a clear figural or typical connection between this Person in Book VIII and the One who became the incarnate Son of God, Jesus Christ.

the day of disobedience. (The rendering of the phrase "thou shalt surely die" in the margin for Genesis 2:17 in the A. V. Milton used is "dying thou shalt die"; the meaning of the original, however, seems merely to involve intensification of the horror of death, as in the phrase "die the death.") Milton's view, sometimes called the "mortalist heresy," was that death involves the whole man, both body and spirit; he denied both "soul-sleep" and soul life in Heaven with God apart from the life of the body. The resurrection is the hope of the Christian for Milton, not an afterlife as a bodiless spirit. His view of death partly explains his insertion of "from that day mortal" in a context of Biblical language. The phrase draws authoritativeness from its context and clears the way for Milton's justification of this particular phase of God's way with men, a phase in which it appears that he did not carry out his threat of punishing disobedience with death the same day.

Book IX

As the book in which "Mans First Disobedience" is treated, Book IX is the pivotal book of Paradise Lost. All that has preceded has pointed forward to the seduction of Eve by the Tempter and all that follows is a direct consequence of man's fall from innocence. Milton suggests the centrality of this book and its events by his explicit statement, "I now must change / Those Notes to Trag-ic" (IX, 6), by his repetition of the Biblical allusion which is first made in the epic (Romans 5:12, 19 -- "as by one mans disobedience . . ."), and by his comparison of his own epic to the great

epics of the world as "Not less but more Heroic" because of a higher "Argument." His subject is not the wrath of Achilles, nor the rage of Turnus, nor the ire of pagan gods and goddesses; it is of "Anger and just rebuke, and judgement giv'n" by the Almighty God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, against the "foul distrust, and breach / Disloyal on the part of Man." Since Milton so heavily underscores the importance of this book in his own epic and in the context of the great Greek and Latin epics, one may expect an even greater use of Biblical allusion to achieve an atmosphere of authoritative reality than has been seen in the earlier books. Actually, however, Book IX does not include as many allusions to the Bible as some other books, and those allusions which are used are almost all for the achievement of special dramatic effects. Most of the allusions in this book, therefore, are reserved for discussion in the next two chapters; here the main purpose is to show how Milton, in order to communicate Scriptural authoritative reality through his imaginative presentation, followed the Bible in certain crucial statements by the two chief actors in the temptation scene. The reader feels, as Basil Willey says, that "the persons have the solidity of real persons; the events have the air of having really happened."¹⁷ This feeling is partly accounted for by the truthfulness of Milton's portrayal of human nature, especially feminine human nature, but it is also accounted for by the authority and reality transmitted by the

¹⁷The Seventeenth Century Background, p. 248.

Biblical language placed at crucial points in the dialogue between Eve and the Serpent.

In the Genesis account there is no mention of the surprise of Eve at the ability of the Serpent to speak, nor of the Serpent's having claimed to have eaten already of the forbidden fruit, whereas Milton presents them as important motivating forces which explain Eve's gullibility. He makes it clear (ll. 86, 560) that he is using the Scriptural statement of the Serpent's superior subtlety as a basis for his imaginative presentation of a progressive temptation (flattery, awaking desire for the fruit by lying before revealing the source of the fruit, leading Eve to the very foot of the forbidden tree before the realization that sin is involved has dawned upon her). Once Eve has been won to confidence in the Serpent's truthfulness and is within reach of the fruit of the "Tree / Of prohibition" (ll. 644-45), the language of both becomes basically Scriptural, though Milton varies the order of the speeches (in Genesis the Serpent questions Eve concerning God's command first; in Paradise Lost Eve states the command first and then the Serpent asks his question with its insinuation of God's injustice). Eve says to the Serpent

Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,
Fruitless to me, though Fruit be here to excess,
The credit of whose vertue rest with thee,
Wondrous indeed, if cause of such effects.
But of this Tree we may not taste nor touch;
God so commanded.

(P. L., IX, 647-652)

The Tempter inquires, as though surprised,

Indeed? hath God then said that of the Fruit
Of all these Garden Trees ye shall not eate,
Yet Lords declar'd of all in Earth or Aire?

(P. L., IX, 656-658)

Eve has fallen for the Serpent's bait far enough that when he impugns the goodness of God by his sly suggestiveness, she responds by exaggerating the nature of the command God had given. In Genesis, as in Paradise Lost, the command was not to eat of the fruit; nothing was said about not touching it or the tree. As Milton follows the A. V. almost exactly both for God's original command and for Eve's exaggeration of it, he feels it necessary to designate Eve as "yet sinless" (l. 659) at this point. The sin does not lie in the temptation nor even in the tendency of the tempted to succumb; it lies only in the act of open revolt and disobedience against God. Therefore, although Eve replies,

Of the Fruit
Of each Tree in the Garden we may eate,
But of the Fruit of this fair Tree amidst
The Garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eate
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, least ye die,

(P. L., IX, 659-663)

she is "yet sinless"; but the Tempter knows that he is gaining ground. He puts on the part of an impassioned orator indignant over injustice to man and, even using the Areopagitica argument that evil should be met and known in order to be shunned (ll. 697-99), launches into an exordium which is interwoven with the language of Genesis.

Queen of this Universe, doe not believe
Those rigid threats of Death; ye shall not Die:
How should ye? by the Fruit? it gives you Life

To Knowledge? By the Threatner, look on mee,
 Mee who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live,
 And life more perfect have attaind then Fate
 Meant mee, by ventring higher then my Lot.

Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
 Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,
 His worshippers; he knows that in the day
 Ye Eate thereof, your Eyes that seem so cleare
 Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
 Op'nd and cleerd, and ye shall be as Gods,
 Knowing both Good and Evil as they know.

(P. L., IX, 684-90, 703-709)

The whole dialogue between Eve and the Tempter has such dramatic reality and Biblical authority about it that one can only be sure of exactly where Milton deviates from Genesis by comparing the two accounts. The Biblical record is briefer and less dramatically conceived, but Milton has built practically his whole structure on the text of the Bible and its connotations.

Now the serpent was more subtile then any beast of the field, which the LORD God had made, and hee said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Yee shall not eate of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruite of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath sayd, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die. For God doth know, that in the day ye eate thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shalbe as Gods, knowing good and evill.

(Genesis 3:1-5)

Building upon Biblical authority and indicating that fact by his allusions, Milton portrays Eve as seduced through all five senses to allow desire, or passion, to usurp authority over right reason. She has looked upon the fruit, the sight of which "Might tempt alone"

(1. 736), she has heard the "perswasive words" (1. 737) of the Tempt-
er, the smell of the fruit (1. 740) has aroused in her a desire to
touch and taste (1. 742); therefore, she is willing to trust the Ser-
pent as "Friendly to man, farr from deceit or guile" (1. 772), and,
with him as her chief proof that "Here grows the Cure of all, this
Fruit Divine" (1. 776), she sums up her reasons and acts. The fruit,
especially since "the hour of Noon" (1. 739) draws on, is

Fair to the Eye, inviting to the Taste,
Of Vertue to make wise: what hinders then
To reach and feed at once both Bodie and Mind?
So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat.

(P. L., IX, 777-781)

Likewise in the Scriptural account, Eve hears the Serpent speak, she
sees the fruit as "pleasant to the eyes," her appetite is awakened,
perhaps by the smell suggesting taste, for she sees that the tree is
"good for food," and she touches and takes the fruit and eats there-
of (Genesis 3:6). One is almost surprised to find no mention of the
smell of the fruit in the Biblical account, nor of the hour of noon,
because Milton has made every detail seem so appropriate to the sit-
uation and has been so careful to base practically everything on the
Bible text or something clearly suggested by the wording of the text.¹⁸

¹⁸A hint provided by Professor Edwin C. Kirkland in a private
conversation and followed up by the writer reveals the strong possi-
bility that Milton's setting Eve's temptation near the hour of noon
(and placing one of the temptations of Christ at that hour also, P.
R., II, 292) may have textual authority. Psalm 91:6 speaks of "the
destruction that wasteth at noontday." The Vulgate is even more sug-
gestive of influence in its rendering: ab incursu daemónio meridiano.
A connection between Satan and destruction is made in P. L., IX,
55-56, 473-79.

Book X

The scene in Book X in which Adam, Eve, and the Serpent are judged has authoritative reality as the result of the speeches of both Judge and judged being lifted almost bodily out of Genesis with brief additions to add drama and some inversions in word order for the sake of the poetry. The Father's sending the Son as Judge is prepared for and made Biblically authoritative by allusions in the Father's commission to the Son.

But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee
Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd
All Judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.
Easie it may be seen that I intend
Mercie colleague with Justice, sending thee
Mans Friend, his Mediator, his design'd
Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntarie,
And destin'd Man himself to judge Man fall'n.

(P. L., X, 55-62)

Scripture texts alluded to in this passage are "the Father judgeth no man: but hath committed all judgement unto the Sonne" (John 5: 22); "Mercy and trueth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other" (Psalm 85:10); "there is one God, and one Mediator betweene God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himselfe a ransome for all" (I Timothy 2:5-6); "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law" (Galatians 3:13); and the Father "hath given [the Son] authority to execute judgement also, because hee is the Sonne of man" (John 5:27).

In the judgment scene, Milton has retained much of the divine simplicity and brevity of the speeches in Genesis. The Judge

and Adam talk more at length in Milton's poem, but only that is added which increases the dramatic unity and coherence of this part of the poem in relation to what has gone before. To God's "Where art thou?" (Genesis 3:9) of the Scripture Milton adds eleven lines (ll. 103 ff.), but Adam's answer,

I heard thee in the Garden, and of thy voice
Affraid, being naked, hid my self,

(P. L., X, 116-117)

makes use of the same words with a few omissions as the Bible record: "I heard thy voyce in the garden; and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid my self" (Genesis 3:10). The reply of the "gracious Judge" is verbally identical with Genesis 3:11 in its last two and one-half lines:

that thou art naked, who
Hath told thee? hast thou eaten of the Tree
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?

(P. L., X, 121-123)

Adam, sore beset, replies with a Miltonic explanation of his Scriptural statement which on the surface appears to be an attempt to shift the blame from himself; Milton's Adam, however, is explained as blaming Eve simply because it is the truth that Eve gave him of the fruit and he knows the uselessness of trying to hide the truth from God. The implication of Adam's words in Scripture -- "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, shee gave mee of the tree, and I did eate" (Genesis 3:12) -- is almost to cast blame upon God for giving him the woman in the first place, and Milton expatiates on this briefly by having Adam explain (forgetting, perhaps, how he

had begged God for a mate in Book VIII):

This Woman whom thou mad'st to be my help,
And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
So fit, so acceptable, so Divine,
That from her hand I could suspect no ill,
And what she did, whatever in it self,
Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;
Shee gave me of the Tree, and I did eate.

(P. L., X, 137-143)

One can imagine the satisfaction with which Milton included this last line of Adam's confession; verbally identical with Scripture, it is also metrically perfect and, in spite of Adam's previous side-stepping, the line ends with the naked truth: "I did eate." As Milton describes the sin of Adam, although he was "fondly overcome with female charm," it was his own deliberate decision to eat of the fruit; this one line, taken intact from Scripture, carries connotations consistent with Milton's view and portrayal of the Fall and is at the same time an integral part of the poem's artistry. Even the regular movement of the monosyllables in the line is appropriate to the mood of Adam's confession, and the Judge picks up Adam's initial stress on "shee" to ask, "Was shee thy God?"

Similarly, Eve's confession consists of one line taken right from the text of Genesis with only one change in word order: for the Bible's "The Serpent beguiled me and I did eate" (Genesis 3:13), Milton has "The Serpent me beguil'd and I did eate" (l. 162).

The judgment pronounced upon Adam is much closer in vocabulary and word order to the A. V. than those pronounced upon the Serpent and Eve, although the latter, too, follow Biblical wording. The judgment

upon Adam in Genesis, arranged in eleven lines to correspond to Milton's lines, is:

Because thou hast hearkened unto the voyce of thy wife,
and hast eaten of the tree of which
I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eate of it:
cursed is the ground for thy sake: in sorrow
shalt thou eate of it all the dayes of thy life;
Thornes also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee:
and thou shalt eate the herbe of the field;
In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eate bread,
till thou returne unto the ground: for
out of it wast thou taken,
for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou returne.

(Genesis 3:17-19)

The parallel to Milton's lines is almost exact:

Because thou hast heark'nd to the voice of thy Wife,
And eaten of the Tree concerning which
I charg'd thee, saying: Thou shalt not eate thereof,
Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow
Shalt eate thereof all the days of thy Life;
Thorns also and Thistles it shall bring thee forth
Unbid, and thou shalt eate th' Herb of th' Field,
In the sweat of thy Face shalt thou eate Bread,
Till thou return unto the ground, for thou
Out of the ground wast taken, know thy Birth,
For dust thou art, and shalt to dust returne.

(P. L., X, 197-208)

The question may well arise, Why do Milton's Biblical allusions become almost exact quotations in this particular part of Paradise Lost as contrasted to any other part of the epic? The answer probably lies in what Milton conceived to be the chief problem of man's relationship to God: that problem is, stated as a question, How can man avoid disobedience to God? The answer is that man must know his own part and person, he must have self-esteem based on just and right, and he must not allow his passion (the main object of which in Paradise Lost is

Eve) to get the better of his reason (the logical result of right reason being a life devoted to the love and service of God above all others). To be deceived, as Eve was, is to be guilty of "foul distrust" of God (P. L., IX, 6); to put allegiance to any other being ahead of obedience to God, as Adam did, is "breach / Disloyal on the part of Man" (IX, 6-7). Only judgment can follow such transgressions, and Milton has given the judgment scene an extraordinary amount of Biblical authoritative reality because the scene carries such significance in Milton's view of "the wayes of God to men."

Book XI

The description of the intermarriage of the Cainites and the Sethites in Book XI is especially interesting, because Milton here again projects, by Biblical allusion, New Testament and Puritan principles of womanly modesty back into the Old Testament story. Following the portrayal of the descendants of Cain building up a cultivated civilization, Michael turns to give Adam a pageant representing the descendants of Seth caught in the "amorous Net" of the daughters of Cain.

Just men they seemd, and all thir study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things lost which might preserve
Freedom and Peace to men: they on the Plain
Long had not walkt, when from the Tents behold
A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay
In Gems and wanton dress; to the Harp they sung
Soft amorous Ditties, and in dance came on:
The Men though grave, ey'd them, and let thir eyes
Rove without rein, till in the amorous Net
Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose.

(P. L., XI, 577-587)

Milton has based this passage on three verses of Scripture. After the description of Cain's descendants in Genesis 4, the birth of Seth to Eve is related, and then verse 26 states: "And to Seth, to him also there was borne a sonne, and he called his name Enos: then beganne men to call upon the name of the LORD." The other two verses follow Genesis 5, in which Seth's line is traced down to Noah and his sons.

And it came to passe, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were borne unto them: that the sonnes of God sawe the daughters of men, that they were faire, and they tooke them wives of all which they chose.

(Genesis 6:1-2)

But to this brief Old Testament basis, Milton adds New Testament suggestions. The daughters of men are not only "fair"; they are "richly gay / In Gems and wanton dress," and they sing and dance their way into the eyes and hearts of the Sethites, corrupting them. The proper dress and manner for Christian women as prescribed in the New Testament is "modest apparell . . . not with broided haire, or gold, or pearles, or costly aray"; rather, they are to be adorned with "shamefastnes and sobrietie" and "good workes" (I Timothy 2:9-10). The best ornament for a godly woman is "the ornament of a meeke and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price" (I Peter 3:4). These allusions add authority to Milton's interpretation of the reason for the flood by which God destroyed all life (except that in the ark). The Old Testament story states scantily the fact of intermarriage without identifying clearly the participants or establishing

any clear connection between these marriages and the corruption of morals which caused God to destroy the world with a flood; Milton's use of both Old and New Testament allusions in presenting the scene before Adam gives Biblical authority to his interpretation and prepares for Michael's explanation that the "daughters of men," "these fair Atheists," are the primary reason that "The world erelong a world of tears must weepe" (XI, 627).

Book XII

When Michael turns from portrayal of the future by pageant and comment to straight narration in Book XII, the Biblical allusions for authority abound with greater frequency than in any other part of the poem. Hardly a line in this last book is without at least one reference and in some lines the references are multiplied. The narrative from the flood to the new heavens and new earth is as authoritative as Biblical allusion can make it, but perhaps the most significant part of Book XII to comment on here is that in which Adam makes a final summation of the duty of man as he sees it after the knowledge that has been committed to him by Raphael and Michael (and by his own experience) has been assimilated. Having his fill of knowledge, "what this vessel can containe," Adam says,

Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best,
 And love with feare the onely God, to walk
 As in his presence, ever to observe
 His providence, and on him sole depend,
 Merciful over all his works, with good
 Still overcoming evil, and by small
 Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak
 Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
 By simply meek; that suffering for Truths sake
 Is fortitude to highest victorie,

And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life;
 Taught this by his example whom I now
 Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.

(P. L., XII, 561-573)

By the aid of the heavenly prophet, Adam has learned the wisdom which only through the long slow process of ages was revealed to his children bit by bit in the Bible; he knows what Samuel was to seek, unsuccessfully, to teach self-willed Saul: "Behold, to obey, is better than sacrifice" (I Samuel 15:22). The conclusion to which wise Solomon came only after a long life of vain searching for the meaning of life, "Feare God, and keepe his Commandements" (Ecclesiastes 12:13), Adam has arrived at and has added to it the New Testament insight that to love God is to keep his commandments (John 14:15). He has learned to depend completely upon God, "casting all [his] care upon him" as Peter did later (I Peter 5:7); he has learned long before the psalmist that God's tender mercies are "over all his works" (Psalm 145:9). He knows that it is a positive principle of God's providence to do what he asks his children to do, to "overcome evill with good" (Romans 12:21); he has learned from Michael what Paul later taught by inspiration, that "God hath chosen the weake things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty: and base things . . . which are despised, hath God chosen . . . to bring to nought things that are" (I Corinthians 1:27-28); he has learned that suffering precedes victory because Michael has revealed to him that which was later to be revealed to Peter, that "Christ . . . suffered for us, leaving us an example, that yee should follow his steps" (I Peter 2:21), and that the Christ pictured by

Michael in both death and resurrection is the one who will reward those who are "faithful unto death" with a "crowne of life" (Revelation 2:10); all of this Adam has learned through the example of Christ "who is over all, God blessed forever" (Romans 9:5).

Adam has learned his lesson well, for Michael praises him as having attained "the summe / Of wisdom" (l. 576); yet he gives Adam one more piece of Scriptural advice:

onely add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
Add Vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul
Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
A Paradise within thee, happier farr.

(P. L., XII, 581-587)

The Biblical authority of Michael's advice is Peter's exhortation in the light of the "great and precious promises" by which men "might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust," to all Christians to

adde to your faith vertue; and to vertue knowledge;
and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, pa-
tience; and to patience, godlinesse; and to godlinesse,
brotherly kindenesse; and to brotherly kindenesse,
charitie. For if these things bee in you and abound,
they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor un-
fruitfull.

(II Peter 1:5-8)

Just as Paradise was first lost inwardly and later became an "Iland salt and bare" (XI, 834), Paradise is to be regained inwardly and the inner man must be a fruitful garden before Paradise can be regained outwardly. Michael's statement, especially when we understand the Biblical allusion, points forward to the "greater Man" who shall

restore us to the "blissful Seat"; to Christ and Paradise Regained.

Paradise Regained

In Paradise Regained, as in Paradise Lost, Milton uses Biblical allusion as a means of establishing an atmosphere of authoritative reality; in the shorter epic, however, his action, setting, cast of characters, and range of mood are so much more limited than in the longer poem that the range of Biblical allusion is also limited. And then Milton did not face the same problems in both poems. For one thing, there is much more of a clear Scriptural record of the temptation of Christ by Satan than of the subject matter of Paradise Lost. The character of Satan, the war in Heaven, the Son of God himself, the details of Eve's transgression and Adam's disobedience, the presence of Satan in the Serpent -- all are described on the basis of more or less traditional conjecture about widely separated texts in the Bible rather than on a basis of clear Bible statements. Biblical authority for Milton's portrayal of Christ and Satan in the wilderness could be drawn from Matthew, Mark, and Luke, who were contemporaries and each of whom told (with varying emphasis and order) basically the same story, whereas in Paradise Lost Milton had to draw his material from sources as widely separated in space, time, and tone as Genesis and Revelation and all the books in between. Nevertheless, though the problems were different and less difficult and the sources more homogeneous, Milton used basically the same methods of Biblical allusion for the same effects in Paradise Regained as in Paradise Lost.

Book I

Paradise Regained, after Milton's introduction and invocation, opens with a frank appraisal by Satan of events leading up to and including the baptism of Jesus. Satan tells the truth in spite of himself, for his Biblical allusions are accurately used although he occasionally interjects doubt. After outlining Christ's birth and growth to manhood, Satan says:

Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent Harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the Consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so
Purified to receive him pure, or rather
To do him honour as their King; all come,
And he himself among them was baptiz'd,
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the Nations may not doubt; I saw
The Prophet do him reverence, on him rising
Out of the water, Heav'n above the Clouds
Unfold her Crystal Dores, thence on his head
A perfect Dove descend, what e're it meant,
And out of Heav'n the Sov'raign voice I heard,
This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd.
His Mother then is mortal, but his Sire,
He who obtains the Monarchy of Heav'n,
And what will he not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep;
Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpses of his Fathers glory shine.

(P. R., I, 70-93)

Satan's slurs, like "Pretends to wash off sin," and "what e're it meant," and his insinuation that God's motives are like those of any doting father with a son to advance, do not detract from the authoritative picture of Christ that the Scriptural allusions in

Satan's speech give. Actually the device of having an enemy report such facts about Christ as are reported here heightens the glory of Christ more than that of having a friend, John the Baptist for example, make the report. Satan's speech to his "gloomy Consistory" is like Beelzebub's speech in Pandemonium (P. L., Book II) in that both include Biblical allusions which are true and therefore condemn the speakers the more for seeking to fight against God when it is bound to be a losing battle. Milton has already stated that Christ will come forth "By proof the undoubted Son of God" (P. R., I, 11), but Satan's allusions to the baptism of Christ recorded in Matthew (3:13-17), Mark (1:9-11), and Luke (3:21-22), and especially the allusion to "the glorie of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (II Corinthians 4:6) add authoritative reality to the person of Milton's hero.

Since Satan has alluded to the mortal mother of Christ, it remains for the Father in his speech to Gabriel to give the detail that his was a virgin mother and to allude to the well-known first chapter of Luke by language drawn from the Annunciation scene. He refers to

that solemn message late,
On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
In Galilee, that she should bear a Son
Great in Renown, and call'd the Son of God;
Then toldst her doubting how these things could be
To her a Virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the highest
O're-shadow her: this man born and now up-grown,
To shew him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose

To Satan.

(P. R., I, 133-43)

The familiar phrases evoke the assurance that Milton's poem is Biblically authoritative; that "the Angel Gabriel was sent from God, unto a citie of Galilee . . . to a Virgin" (Luke 1:26-27a), that he told her she would conceive and bring forth a child who would be "great and . . . be called the sonne of the Highest" (Luke 1:32), that she doubted and asked "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" (Luke 1:34), and that she was answered by Gabriel, "The holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be borne of thee, shall be called the sonne of God" (Luke 1:35) -- that all this happened and that the relation of the events should be in just these words everyone knows from a child and is reminded of at least every Christmas. But Milton reminds us quickly in another allusion that birth alone, even virgin birth, could not make Christ the Son of God; he is

This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn Salvation for the Sons of men.

(P. R., I, 166-167)

The allusion is to the Scripture,

Though hee were a Sonne, yet learned hee obedience by
the things which he suffered: and being made perfect,
he became the authour of eternall salvation unto all
them that obey him.

(Hebrews 5:8-9)

Thus the whole purpose of the temptation is stated early in the poem

in Biblical language: it is to prove Jesus a perfect man who can suffer and yet obey and by such merit show himself qualified to regain Paradise.

Book II

Mary, the mother of Christ, is realistically and authoritatively portrayed in Book II as clothing troubled thoughts in sighs as she thinks of her missing son and reviews details of their hardships since his birth; she progresses from a mild impatience with her "favour'd lot, / My Exaltation to Afflictions high" (ll. 91-92) to the state of mind in which she can say, "But I to wait with patience am inur'd" (l. 102). Her meditative soliloquy repeats some aspects of Christ's story referred to earlier in the poem, but it adds new incidents heretofore unmentioned. All are grounded in Biblical language and serve to remind the reader of the unusual and supernatural youth of Christ. Mary enumerates the sorrows and fears with which she has been advanced beyond the lot of other women: her son's birth in a cold season, when only a stable could be found for her and a manger for him; the wrath of Herod and the slaughter of the innocent children; the flight into Egypt; the return (after Herod's death) to the homeland but settlement in Nazareth; the child now grown to manhood, baptized by John, and "own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice" (l. 85). After this last event, Mary says,

I look't for some great change; to Honour? no,
But trouble, as old Simeon plain fore-told,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very Soul
A sword shall pierce, this is my favour'd lot,

My Exaltation to Afflictions high;
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.
 But where delays he now? some great intent
 Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,
 I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
 He could not lose himself; but went about
 His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,
 Since understand; much more his absence now
 Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
 But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
 My heart hath been a store-house long of things
 And sayings laid up, portending strange events.
 Thus Mary pondering oft, and oft to mind
 Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
 Since first her Salutation heard, with thoughts
 Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling.

(P. R., II, 86-108)

Mary uses the very language of Simeon as recorded by Luke:

And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother,
 Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising againe
 of many in Israel: and for a signe which shall bee
 spoken against, (Yea a sword shall pearce thorow thy
 owne soul also) that the thoughts of many hearts may be
 revealed.

(Luke 2:34-35)

The allusion here serves the immediate purpose of substantiating Mary's expectation of more trouble connected with the recognition of her son from Heaven rather than of more honor, but it also points out into the future beyond the temptation to the preaching ministry of Christ so bitterly opposed by the Pharisees, to the martyrdom (and hope of resurrection) for his followers, and to the sorrow which Christ's own death would bring to Mary. Yet Mary finds comfort in this time of separation from her son, even though she is ignorant of his whereabouts, through the memory of her experience in having lost him once before when he

was twelve -- an experience which proved to her that "He could not lose himself."

And it came to passe, that after three dayes they found him in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the Doctours, both hearing them, and asking them questions And when they saw him they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Sonne, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must bee about my Fathers businesse? And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.

(Luke 2:46, 48-50)

Mary's statement that she now understands after having mused over Christ's saying (ll. 96-97) is given authority by allusion to the Biblical statement that "his mother kept all these sayings in her heart" (Luke 2:51), and the reference to Mary's "pondering oft" draws authority from Luke's testimony that "Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart" (Luke 2:19). Although there is nothing in the Bible about Mary's attitude of mind during the time Jesus was away in the wilderness being tempted of the Devil, Milton has presented her realistically by the use of Biblical allusion.

Book III

In the Gospels, Christ answers each of Satan's three temptations with a quotation from Scripture. In Paradise Regained the particular rebuffs by Christ to the other approaches of Satan which are of Milton's imagination rather than of Biblical origin also gain authoritative reality by the use of Biblical allusion. In Book III

Christ, using Job as an example of the truth that true glory and renown is that enjoyed by the faithful man in the sight of God even if he may not be known on earth, answers Satan's appeals that he should seek fame and glory as Alexander the Great, Scipio Africanus, Pompey, and Julius Caesar had done; he then sums up, in Biblical language, the futility of doing great deeds in hope of earthly fame:

Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught suffer'd; if young African for fame
His wasted Country freed from Punic rage,
The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.

(P. R., III, 100-104)

The allusion is to Jesus' teaching to his disciples as recorded by Matthew:

Take heed that yee doe not your almes before men, to
be seene of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your
father which is in heaven.

(Matthew 6:1)

The possibility of loss of reward is referred to by John: "Looke to your selves, that wee lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward" (II John 8). In answer to Satan's charge that God the Father seeks glory in all he does and from all his creatures, Christ replies that God should expect no less than glory and thanks from his creatures; but as for the creatures,

why should man seek glory? who of his own
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?

(P. R., III, 134-136)

The words allude to the Biblical truth that all men have is received

from God and to God alone should go the glory: "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why doest thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?" (I Corinthians 4:7). Satan is silenced on this score, for he realizes that "he himself / Insatiable of glory had lost all" (ll. 147-48).

Book IV

In the final book of Paradise Regained Christ is set on a high hill by Satan so that he can view the great kingdoms of Parthia, Greece, and Rome with his eyes. But still Satan is defeated by the calm and patient Son of God, who has repulsed all Satan's attempts to interest him in wealth, fame, knowledge, or impatience as means of gaining control of the kingdoms of the world. Finally, in desperation, Satan puts all his cards on the table in Scriptural language, though, as Milton has portrayed the temptation's progress, he is sure of being refused. Of the kingdoms of this world, Satan says,

All these which in a moment thou behold'st,
The Kingdoms of the world to thee I give;
For giv'n to me, I give to whom I please,
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else,
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me as thy superior Lord.

(P. R., IV, 162-167)

Milton gives Satan the words assigned him by Luke, with a few Miltonic additions and with the addition from Matthew (4:8-9) of the demand that Christ "fall down" to worship.

And the devil, taking him up into an hie mountaine,
shewed unto him all the kingdomes of the world in a
moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All this
power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for
that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will,

I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all
shall be thine.

(Luke 4:5-7)

The words by which Christ rejects Satan's offer are taken from Luke also, but Milton reverses the order of Christ's quotation of Scripture and his rebuke, "Get thee behind me." In Luke Jesus' answer is, "Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serve" (Luke 4:8), while in Paradise Regained Jesus first says,

It is written
The first of all Commandments, Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve,

(P. R., IV, 175-177)

and then, after reproaching Satan for daring to claim possession of the world by gift when God has merely permitted him his sway and for being so blasphemous as to offer Christ that which belongs to him already, Christ issues the stern rebuke,

Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
That Evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.

(P. R., IV, 193-194)

Elements Imaginatively Expanded from Scripture

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, there are elements in both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained which have a certain degree of authoritative reality although they involve events, objects, and persons which do not actually appear in the Bible as they do in the poem. What accounts for their appropriateness in Milton's Biblical epics is the fact that they are founded upon Scripture: they involve

a logical extension from and expansion of a textual starting point. Those in Paradise Lost which are so striking as to demand special comment in this chapter are the allegory of Sin and Death, the bridge built by Sin and Death in the track of Satan from Hell to the newly created Universe, Limbo, and the stairs to Heaven; those in Paradise Regained include the description of Jesus among the wild beasts in the desert and the revised order and purpose of the last of Satan's temptations of Christ.

Sin and Death

Dr. Samuel Johnson selected Milton's allegory of Sin and Death as the target of one of his severest criticisms of Paradise Lost; according to him, it is "one of the greatest faults of the poem; and to this there was no temptation, but the author's opinion of its beauty."¹⁹ There was, however, the additional temptation of certain Bible texts about sin and death which provided Milton with both the idea and the authority for concretizing as persons these abstract terms. The purpose here is not to go into the question of the consistency or appropriateness of the allegory of Sin and Death but rather to analyze its Biblical authority as a means of explaining the feeling of the Biblically informed reader that Milton has painted a true picture of Sin and Death as well as given an authoritative account of their origin and function.

¹⁹"Milton," Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (London, 1905), I, 136.

Sin and Death are first seen through the eyes of their Author and, like him, the reader only gradually comes to realize who these beings are. Seeking to leave Hell on the first leg of his long journey up to light, Satan sees two horrible shapes at the gates of Hell.

Before the Gates there sat
On either side a formidable shape;
The one seem'd Woman to the waste, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fould
Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd
With mortal sting.

.
The other shape,
If shape it might be call'd that had none
Distinguishable in member, joynt, or limb,
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful Dart; what seem'd his head
The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on.

(P. L., II, 648-53, 666-73)

The reader familiar with the Bible is given specific clues to help him identify these shapes before their names are mentioned. Milton does not name them in the "Argument," but allows the reader to share Satan's ignorance of their identity up to a point; beyond that point, the reader knows and watches with suspense to see how Satan will react to the news that his rebellion has brought about the existence of these two foul monsters. Sin's being described as "a Serpent arm'd / With mortal sting" recalls first the origin of sin from the Serpent in Genesis and then the New Testament comparison of sin to a sting: "The sting of death is sinne" (I Corinthians 15:56). In the description of Death, "shadow" and "black . . . as Night" are reminiscent

of the Scriptural phrase "the shadow of death" (as in Psalm 23) and the "Kingly Crown" he wears identifies him with Death as he is personified in Revelation: "And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sate on him had a bowe, and a crowne was given unto him" (Revelation 6:2a); "And I looked and behold a pale horse, and his name that sate on him was Death, and hell followed with him" (Revelation 6:8). Speaking of the death of the wicked, Bildad told Job, "His confidence shall be rooted out of his tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the king of terrours" (Job 18:14).²⁰ When Sin intervenes as Death and Satan are about to clash, she refers to Satan as "Father" and to Death as "Son," titles Satan cannot understand since he does not recognize his offspring. Sin's account to him of how she sprang full-grown from his head (as Pallas Athene sprang from the forehead of Jupiter) and of how their relationship brought forth Death is largely the result of Milton's classical learning and great imaginative powers -- and yet the account is based on Scripture as a starting point from which the details are logically expanded. The suddenness of Sin's appearance is indicated by the Old Testament statement, interpreted to be God's words to Satan,

²⁰Milton's image of Death begetting yelping Hell-hounds upon his mother, Sin, and of their returning at will into her womb to howl and gnaw (ll. 790-802) may be based on Job 18:13, "It shall devour the strength of his skin: even the first borne of death shall devour his strength," with a change of sex for Sin. The conception of Sin as a woman may be based on the strange woman of Proverbs, whose "house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead Her feet goe downe to death; her steps take hold on hell" (2:18, 3:5).

"Thou wast perfect in thy waies from the day that thou wast created, till iniquitie was found in thee thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as prophane out of the mountaine of God" (Ezekiel 28:15-16). In Paradise Lost the iniquity found in Satan which results in his bringing forth Sin is vividly described by her.

All on a sudden miserable pain
 Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzie swumm
 In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
 Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,

 Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seisd
 All th' Host of Heav'n; back they recoild affraid
 At first, and call'd me Sin.

(P. L., II, 752-55, 758-60)

The description of the suddenness and the means by which Sin was brought forth from Satan is followed by the description of how Death was conceived. Sin says,

I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
 The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
 Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing
 Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st
 With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
 A growing burden.

(P. L., II, 762-767)

Death's birth in Hell, Sin having been cast out with the rebellious host from Heaven, is related next.

Pensive here I sat
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
 Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
 Transform'd; but he my inbred enemy

Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart
Made to destroy.

(P. L., II, 777-787)

The pattern for both the conception and birth of Sin and for the eventuation of Sin in Death is Scriptural. When it is remembered that Satan, earlier in the poem, has accused God of tempting him and the other angels to attempt God's throne (I, 642), the context of the following Scripture, explaining how sin and death come about, is especially striking.

Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God:
for God cannot bee tempted with evil, neither tempteth
hee any man. But every man is tempted, when he is drawn
away of his owen lust, and entised. Then when lust hath
conceived, it bringeth forth sinne: and sinne when it
is finished, bringeth forth death.

(James 1:13-15)²¹

The mythological echoes of Milton's allegory are exceeded by its Biblical reminiscences. Although Sin, like Pallas Athene from the forehead of Jupiter, springs "heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd" (l. 757) from Satan's head, it is not from his forehead she springs but from "the left side op'ning wide" (l. 755) -- and even this has its Biblical connotations in Paradise Lost, since Milton (adding to the Genesis account, which merely relates that God took a rib from man without specifying which side) has Eve created from a rib removed

²¹"Bringeth forth" (James 1:15) is translated, in its first use, from ἀποκτείνω, meaning to bear forth young, or to beget young, used only here and in James 1:18 in the New Testament; in its second use, it is translated from τέκνω, which is always used in the N. T. in connection with child birth, variously translated in the A. V. "bring forth," "be delivered of," and "travail in birth."

from Adam's left side (P. L., VIII, 465-66).

One function of having Sin and Death so personified in the epic is to provide a dramatic, figural foreview of Satan's temptation of Eve. Sin is a woman; she has been given a commandment by God to keep the gates of Hell unopened although she has a key that will open them. Eve is commanded to abstain from the forbidden fruit and yet she has the free will to disobey and eat. Sin is won to open the gates by the "suttle Fiend," who knows how to indulge in smooth flattery and exalting promises of future bliss. Eve is won to trust the Serpent through Satan's flattery and lying promises of godly powers to be hers once she disobeys God. Sin can open the gates but she cannot shut them. Eve can transgress but cannot undo what once is done (IX, 926). Sin is woman and serpent combined and has in her power the "Sad instrument of all our woe" (II, 872). Eve is "perhaps" identified with "the Serpent, whom they call'd / Ophion with Eurynome, the wide- / Encroaching Eve" (X, 580-82), and Adam in his bitterness over the Fall calls Eve "thou Serpent" (X, 867) because she misused her power to eat of the tree which was the "root of all our woe" (IX, 645). Milton does much to mitigate woman's sin by his sympathetic picture of Eve (she initiates the repentance of the sinful pair, for example), but there is no way to soften the Biblical fact that she "being deceived, was in the transgression" (I Timothy 2:14) and Milton hardens it if anything.

The allegory is also a vivid illustration of Milton's theme text: "As by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin .

. ." This is true also of the universe: it is by one angel that Sin is born, and the same proud, ambitious lust that brought forth Sin conjoins with her to bring forth Death. That angel then comes to earth, tempts and deceives Eve into a sin like his (transgression through proud ambition) and the consequence is sin and death for all mankind. Satan brings forth sin and sin brings forth death -- in Heaven, in Hell, and on the earth.

It is fitting, then, that Heaven, Hell, and Earth be joined together; and Milton found in the Scriptures the basis for the tremendous allegorical image of a bridge and stairway to do just that.

The Bridge of Sin and Death

It is practically certain that the image of a "Bridge of wondrous length," "a broad and beat'n way," paved by Sin and Death from the gates of Hell to the new world "soon after when man fell" (II, 1021-30) was inspired by the words of Jesus, "wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which goe in thereat" (Matthew 7:13). Milton's image of the gates of Hell left standing wide open after Sin had used the key committed to her is based on the same Scripture; it is possible that the same Bible text was the origin of the figure of "a Bannerd Host / Under spread Ensigns . . . / With Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array" (II, 885-87) which, Milton says, might march through the gates, "So wide they stood." By Book X (ll. 235-304) when the details are given of the building of the "Pontifice" over the vast stretches of chaos to this universe, the Biblical language by which the bridge was first described

has made Milton's device an acceptable one for portraying the results of man's disobedience in graphic form to the Bible-centered reader. Not even Milton's anti-Catholic pun involved in his referring to the "wondrous Art / Pontifical" of Sin and Death in connecting the new universe and Hell with "this new wondrous Pontifice" (X, 312-13, 348) can detract from the reader's admiration for the magnificent sweep of Milton's imagination (the pun may well have increased the average seventeenth century Englishman's admiration) as the reader considers the brief Bible text which Milton expanded into such a breathtaking image.

Limbo and the Stairs to Heaven

There is an element in Paradise Lost, also aimed at Catholicism, which does not have specific Biblical authority but which is made to dovetail with the Biblical image of the broad way leading to destruction and the stairs leading to Heaven, both of which do have Scriptural authority. That is the "Paradise of Fools" (III, 496) or Limbo. Scriptural allusions to the kind of people who wind up there are included (Pharisees, III, 451-54, Matt. 6:5; the Giants of antediluvian times, III, 463-65, Gen. 6:4; the builders of Babel, III, 466-68, Gen. 11:2-4), but there is no Biblical basis for such a place unless it is the "outer darkness" into which hypocrites and unprofitable servants are cast (Matthew 22:11-14, 25:29-30). Milton is using "Limbo" in its literal meaning of "border, edge"; it is the border country, the no-man's land, which stands just between this world and the next. Having just arrived at the bare outside

of this world by the route to be made a permanent causeway to Hell, Satan passes through the area to be known later as Limbo, and he soon finds himself at the foot of the golden stairs joining this universe with Heaven (III, 501-509). As Satan views the stairs ascending to the gate of Heaven, he sees also

A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,
Wider by farr than that of after-times
Over Mount Sion, and though that were large,
Over the Promis'd Land to God so dear.

(P. L., III, 528-531)

Thus, in Book X, when Sin and Death have finished the bridge from Hell, the "three sev'ral wayes" are in sight of each other:

and now in little space
The Confines met of Emphyrean Heav'n
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
With long reach interpos'd; three sev'ral wayes
In sight, to each of these three places led.

(P. L., X, 320-324)

Three ways -- the way to Hell, the way to Heaven, the way to Earth -- meet on the outside rim of this universe. Those who are to land in Limbo are confident that they will ascend the golden stairs, but when they lift their feet to go up, "loe / A violent cross wind from either Coast / Blows them transverse ten thousand Leagues awry" (III, 486-88).

The stairs to Heaven are given Scriptural authority by comparison with those "whereon Jacob saw / Angels ascending and descending And waking cri'd, This is the Gate of Heav'n" (III, 510-11, 515), an allusion to Genesis (28:12, 16-17) and to the words of Jesus in the New Testament, "Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, &

the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the Sonne of man" (John 1:51). The latter Scripture explains Milton's statement that "Each Stair mysteriously was meant" (III, 516). Jacob's ladder as well as Milton's stairway is a symbol of the way to Heaven, the Way, the Truth, and the Life (John 14:6), Jesus Christ, the Son of Man. When all the symbolic passages are brought together in Book X (ll. 320 ff.), Hell is seen on the "left hand," giving a pictorial emphasis of cosmic immensity to the words to be pronounced by the Son as Judge "unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devill and his angels" (Matthew 25:41).

Jesus Among the Beasts

Some incidents are related in Paradise Regained which are extensions of a brief text in the Bible. For example, the only mention of the temptation of Christ in the Gospel of Mark is put very concisely in two verses; yet an element is included which is not recorded by Matthew nor Luke in their otherwise more extended accounts, and it is upon this element that Milton builds a striking image of the Son of God as having been in the wilderness for forty days without food or hunger, and then, when he begins to feel hunger, as still in control of himself and his surroundings. Mark's account of the temptation is:

And immediately the Spirit driveth him into the wilderness. And he was there in the wildernesses fourtie dayes tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts; and the Angels ministered unto him.

(Mark 1:12-13)

The following passage shows how much Milton adds to his account on the authority of the phrase "with the wild beasts," while at the same time he ventures to add no description of how Jesus spent the forty days, for it "is not reveal'd":

Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night
 Under the covert of some ancient Oak,
 Or Cedar, to defend him from the dew,
 Or harbour'd in one Cave, is not reveal'd;
 Nor tasted humane food, nor hunger felt
 Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last
 Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,
 Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd, his walk
 The fiery Serpent fled, and noxious Worm,
 The Lion and fierce Tiger glar'd aloof.

(P. R., I, 303-313)

The mildness and harmlessness of the beasts in the presence of Christ emphasize his power over nature. When the Israelites, having been led out of Egypt by Moses and having seen supernatural acts of God, began to complain against God's provision for them in the wilderness, God "sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died" (Numbers 21:6); but when Christ walks the wilderness in humble submission to his Father, the fiery serpent flees his path. Even the man-eaters, the lion and the tiger, stand aloof from the Son of God. An animal instrument will not serve Satan in his temptation of this Man, and Satan is soon to learn that no disguise can hide his identity from Christ (P. R., I, 356). These, and more, connotations Milton suggests through his expansion of the Biblical phrase, applied to Christ, "and was with the wild beasts" (Mark 1:13).

The Order of the Temptations of Christ

Milton bases his order of the various temptations in Paradise Regained on Luke's account rather than on Matthew's; therefore the placing of Christ on the pinnacle of the Temple occurs last in the poem, and Milton's treatment justifies the order of Luke artistically. Everything builds to the climax on the highest spire of the Temple where Christ stands while Satan falls, defeated in the air, his own boasted sphere of conquest (P. R., I, 45-46, IV, 563-71). Yet it is highly probable that if Milton had not had the authority of Luke's example, he would have followed the order of Matthew, in which Satan's condition that Christ fall down and worship him is laid down last, rather than depart from Scriptural order, in spite of the fact that having the last scene take place on the spire is more effective dramatically. Although it cannot be demonstrated from Milton's writings, it is probable that Milton chose Luke's account not for artistic and dramatic reasons primarily, but for two Scriptural reasons.²² In the

²²Elizabeth Marie Pope, in her comprehensive and highly readable summary of the traditional accounts of the temptation known in the seventeenth century, assigns other reasons for Milton's adoption of Luke's order than I have here suggested; she admits, however, that "the difficulty about the order of the temptations was a very minor one. Luke's arrangement might not be so satisfactory as Matthew's, but it was there in the Bible, and hence quite authoritative enough to be used by any writer who needed it." (Paradise Regained: The Tradition and the Poem [Baltimore, 1947], p. 102.) Her chapter entitled "The Temptation of the Tower" is especially valuable in its placing of the scene on the pinnacle of the Temple in proper perspective with the other temptations and with the triple-equation of religious tradition about the temptation: the world, the flesh, the devil.

first place, Luke prefaces his Gospel with a statement that he, "having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first," is writing down the events "in order" (Luke 1:3), a claim that Matthew does not make. In the second place, Luke closes his account of the temptation, after the Temple scene, with the words, "And when the devill had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season" (Luke 4:13), a statement implying that the pinnacle test was the final test of all those applied by Satan in the wilderness. Milton inserts the stormy night between Christ's rejection of the kingdoms of the world, including worldly knowledge, and the Temple scene. When he comments, at the close of the temptation on a high hill and the beginning of the stormy night before the temptation on the pinnacle, that Satan "to the Wilderness / Brought back the Son of God, and left him there, / Feigning to disappear" (P. R., IV, 395-97), he is apparently alluding to Matthew's account, which says, after the high mountain scene, "Then the devill leaveth him" (Matthew 4: 11).

Luke's words, "when the devill had ended all the temptation," can be interpreted as indicating finality, as it seems Milton did interpret them; he may have also thought of this statement, together with Paul's saying that Jesus was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sinne" (Hebrews 4:15), as his justification for including a much greater variety of approach for Satan in his poem than Satan is given in the Scripture (such scenes, for example, as that of the lavish banquet table and the vision of "Athens the eye of Greece"), thus giving Christ opportunity to prove himself able to "resist /

All his sollicitations, and at length / All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell" (I, 151-53). Finally, Milton uses the temptation story as a starting point from which to project the ultimate victory to be won over Satan, Sin, and Death by Christ as suffering Redeemer, resurrected and ascended Lord, and returning King. That overcoming the temptations of Satan is merely the beginning of Christ's work and not by any means its completion is stated by the Father (I, 150-67), by the Son himself (I, 259-67), and by the angels (IV, 616-25, 633-35).

By his use of Biblical allusion as it has been discussed in this chapter, Milton was not only able to achieve an atmosphere of authoritative reality for events and persons described explicitly in the Bible; he was also able to support his own imaginative additions and inventions with the same authoritative reality by basing them on Bible texts and keeping his elaboration within the limits of what could be logically extended or expanded from such texts. As we have seen, there is another dimension to the Biblical reality of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained: the vertical, figural connection established between the present event (or person) and the future working out or fulfillment of the ultimate and universal plan of God for man and the world.

In order to range freely with such a universal scope, Milton summoned all his powers of expression in other languages as well as in his native language; in achieving his poetic and didactic effects, he utilized his linguistic versatility. How he deepened and broadened

the beauty and meaning of his epic poems by allusions to Bibles in languages other than English is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LINGUISTIC VERSATILITY IN BIBLICAL ALLUSION

Milton's poems in Greek and Latin, his translations into English poetry of Hebrew psalms, and his copious references in his prose, both Latin and English, especially in De Doctrina Christiana and the divorce tracts, give ample testimony to his proficiency in the three Biblical languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Greek and Hebrew, being the original Biblical languages, are those most utilized by Milton in his epic poems, although sometimes he accepts the wording of the Latin Bible as being most appropriate to his purpose and meaning. Milton's knowledge of the original Scriptures and his ability as a textual critic are revealed most fully in his prose. Professor Harris Fletcher's The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose (Urbana, 1929) is a careful and adequate analysis of the various uses Milton makes of Biblical citation; that Milton's religious beliefs grew out of a thorough knowledge of the Bible in the original languages and out of Milton's own scholarly methods of Biblical criticism and exegesis is demonstrated by George Newton Conklin in his Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton (New York, 1949). The purpose here, however, is not to analyze the critical method by which Milton arrived at translations different from those of the A. V.; neither is it to discuss in detail the doctrinal implications of

his uses of the original languages of the Bible. Rather it is hoped that insight into the poetic effects Milton achieves through his linguistic versatility in the use of Biblical allusion may be provided by this chapter. These poetic effects are, chiefly: a heightened pleasure to the Biblically informed reader (today, more than ever, "fit . . . though few"), or the aesthetic effect; and an instruction by means of the illumination of a Bible passage translated into poetry by Milton, an instruction which is necessary to Milton's general purpose to "assert Eternal Providence, / And justifie the wayes of God to men" (P. L., I, 25-26), or the purposive effect.

Milton's use of the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin Bibles as sources for allusions in his epic poems falls roughly into three main types: (1) transliterations from Greek or Hebrew into English with the English translation following or preceding the transliteration, (2) Milton's variant translations of certain texts, and (3) elements following the words or phrasing of the Latin Bible.¹

Transliterations with Translations

Uses of transliterated Greek words, often with a translating

¹Milton's use of foreign idiom and syntax is excluded as being too difficult to attach to specific Bible texts; this aspect of Milton's language has been frequently commented upon from Addison to Eliot, and it includes much that is not Biblical but classical. Dr. Johnson, commenting on Addison's judgment that "our language sunk under him," complained that Milton formed "his style by a perverse and pedantick principle. He was desirous to use English words with a foreign idiom" ("Milton," Lives of the English Poets, ed. G. B. Hill [London, 1905], I, 190). Eliot compares P. L. to Finnegans Wake because both are "great books by blind musicians, each writing a language of his own based upon English." (Quoted in Milton Criticism: Selections from Four Centuries, ed. James Thorpe [New York, 1950], p. 323.)

phrase, were common in works of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.² Milton continues the traditional practice of transliteration and translation of classical Greek words and expands the practice to include New Testament Greek words and Old Testament Hebrew words. In the tradition of such writers as Robert Burton and Sir Thomas Browne, Milton's description of the four "infernal Rivers" of Hell provides the literal meanings of the Greek words used.

Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate,
 Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

(P. L., II, 577-581)

Styx comes from στυγείν, "to hate or fear," Acheron means "river of woe," Cocytus is derived from κωκυτός, "a wailing," and Phlegethon is a transliteration of the present participle of φλεγεθην, "to blaze or burn." Other examples are "Eurynome" used with "wide-Encroaching" (P. L., X, 580-81), "Nocturnal and

²A few titles exemplifying the practice of transliterating and translating are Thomas Watson's Hekatompathia, or a Passionate Century of Sonnets, John Bodenham's Politeuphuia, or Wits Theatre, Everard Guilpin's Skialethia, or The Shadow of Truth, and John Lyly's Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit. Such words were even more commonly used without the translation, as in Thomas More's Utopia, Edmund Spenser's Prosopopoia, Samuel Daniel's Musophilus, and Roger Ascham's Toxophilus. In the seventeenth century the practice was continued both in titles and in the main body of the work. Sir Thomas Browne, for example, says in Religio Medici, "Nay further, we are what we all abhor, Anthropophagi and cannibals, devourers not only of men but of ourselves," and later he speaks of "those noctambuloes and night walkers." (Seventeenth Century Prose and Poetry, ed. Robert P. Tristram Coffin and A. M. Witherspoon [New York, 1946], pp. 363, 373.)

Diurnal rhomb" followed by "Wheele / Of Day and Night" (P. L., VIII, 134-36), and "Hecatompylos" translated "hunderd gates" (P. R., III, 287).

The words Milton uses which are here being called transliterations are words in use in English during and before his time; the coinage of these terms is not being attributed to Milton, although there is at least one which is Milton's original contribution to English: "Pandaemonium" (P. L., I, 756), derived from $\pi\hat{\alpha}\nu$ and $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$ as the name for "the high Capital" of Hell. The point here is that the use of a word which is transliterated from Greek (or Hebrew) and followed or preceded by an English translation serves the double purpose of making the reader conscious of the origin of the word and of assuring his understanding of the meaning of it. For example, the word baptize was originally a transliteration of the Greek verb $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$. If the statement "The minister is to baptize John today" appears, the reader thinks of the word as an English word with varying meanings according to denominational interpretations. But if the statement appears as, "The minister is to baptize John today, completely immersing him in water," the reader (if he knows a little Greek) is made conscious of the fact that the English word baptize is a transliteration of the Greek $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$, which literally means "to immerse," and he has a highly specific image of what is to happen to John, whereas before his image might have been vague. Thus when Milton speaks (through Michael) of the disciples of Christ as "Baptizing in the profluent streame" all who believe

in Christ as a "signe / Of washing them from guilt of sin to Life / Pure" (P. L., XII, 442-44), the reader should not need a gloss from the De Doctrina to explain Milton's interpretation of baptism.³

In Book I when Satan speaks to Beelzebub, "One next himself in power, and next in crime" (l. 79), Beelzebub's former high state (and, consequently, Satan's even higher former state) is emphasized by the fact that Satan speaks to his inferior in the Biblical language of Isaiah 14 where God addresses Satan, or Lucifer,⁴ and by the comparison of Beelzebub with the other spirits of Heaven as one who "Cloth'd with transcendent brightnes didst outshine / Myriads though bright" (I, 86-87). A few lines later, Satan refers to the "Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd" (I, 101) that had revolted under his leadership against the Almighty. The A. V. translation for the plural form of the Greek *μυριάς* is "innumerable multitude" (from *τῶν μυριάδων*, used as a plural subject in Luke 12:1) or "innumerable company" (Hebrews 12:22); Milton follows his

³It is interesting, however, to see how close this passage in P. L. is to Milton's definition of baptism in the De Doctrina (Bishop Sumner's translation) as "the first of the sacraments commonly so called . . . wherein the bodies of believers who engage themselves to pureness of life, are immersed in running water in profluentem aquam, to signify their regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and their union with Christ in his death, burial, and resurrection"; again, Milton answers those who argue that to baptize is to sprinkle by an illustration: "in washing we do not sprinkle the hands, but immerse them" ("The Christian Doctrine," in The Student's Milton, ed. Frank Allen Patterson [New York, 1947], pp. 1029, 1031). Milton's "washing in both P. L. and the De Doctrina recalls the A. V. translators' criticism of the "scrupulositie of the Puritans, who leave the olde Ecclesiasticall words . . . as when they put washing for Baptisme" ("The Translators to the Reader," The Holy Bible [London, 1612], n. p.).

⁴See the discussion of Satan's character in Chapter Four.

plural "Myriads" with "innumerable force." In Book II the reader learns from Death that Satan actually led one-third of the angels in revolt (a fact which the reader familiar with the Bible already knows); thus Satan's statement that he drew away from God an innumerable force is intensified as a magnificent lie (for the reader who catches the significance of the double reference) before the progress of the poem reveals it as a lie. Within Book I Satan is described as numbering the host in Hell (l. 571), and yet he persists in referring to the devils as "Myriads of immortal Spirits" (l. 622); he even claims to have "emptied Heav'n" (l. 633). A knowledge of the English Bible is all that is needed to catch the Devil in his lying brag, but a recognition of Milton's knowledge of and use of the Greek New Testament in connection with the true character of Satan as a liar heightens the pleasure the reader derives from Milton's art while he is being guided into a definite attitude towards Satan.

Milton sometimes uses a transliteration more than once before he couples it with a translation, as though giving the reader with a knowledge of Greek space in which to recognize what he is doing with a Bible word and then providing the transliteration and translation together for the reader who has not recognized the word. He refers early in the poem to "the vast Abyss," using a word familiar to English readers as a transliteration from Greek *ἄβυσσος*. The word is used again in Satan's oration to his followers:

For this Infernal Pit shall never hold

Caelestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyesse
Long under darkness cover.

(P. L., I, 657-659)

This time the reference to "Infernal Pit" comes close to identifying "Abyesse" with the bottomless pit of the Apocalypse. Then in Book II, when Beelzebub has won full assent in the devils' assembly to his Satan-inspired plan to attack God through seducing his creatures, he asks:

who shall tempt with wandring feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his aerie flight
Upborn with indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy Ile.

(P. L., II, 404-410)

The use of "Abyss" (ἄβυσσος , "no," plus βύσσος , "bottom") with "unbottom'd" brings about the identification of this area in which Hell is located and through the infinite reaches of which one must make his way up to light as the "bottomless pit" (τὴν ἄβυσσον) of Revelation 20:1-3 into which John saw "the dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan" cast bound, but to be "loosed a little season." The horror of the fallen angels' situation is deepened by the language used here, and the identification of their location with the bottomless pit of the Apocalypse makes it clear that though Satan will be "loosed," it will be but for a season, and that his final doom in the lake of fire and brimstone forever is described in the same chapter of the Bible (Revelation 20:10).

All the names Milton uses in Paradise Lost are appropriate to their bearers and to their bearers' function in the drama of the poem.⁵ Some names are used in a way, however, that makes them fit into the category being discussed here: that is, a transliteration with a translation being provided at a crucial point in the poem after the name has been mentioned several times without translation. The Devil is first referred to in Paradise Lost as "Th' infernal Serpent" (I, 34) and then a few lines later as "th' Arch-Enemy, / And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan" (I, 81-82). The name Satan is as close phonetically as one can get in English to the Hebrew שָׂטָן, which is used in the Old Testament not only of the Devil but of any adversary; for example, Rezon, who reigned over Syria, is called "an

⁵Examples of the appropriate use of names, according to the meaning of the original words, abound. Among the elect angels there are Uriel, "God is light," P. L., III, 648, I Chron. 6:24; Gabriel, "God is mighty," P. L., IV, 549, Dan. 8:16; Uzziel, "God is strong," P. L., IV, 782, Ex. 6:18; Ithuriel (from Ithiel, "God is," plus ur, "light"), P. L., IV, 788; Zephon, "dark, wintry," P. L., IV, 788, Num. 26:15; Raphael, "God is to be feared," P. L., V, 221, Tobit 3:17; Abdiel, "servant of God," P. L., V, 805, I Chron. 5:15; Michael, "who is like God?" P. L., VI, 44, Dan. 10:13; Zophiel, "God is watcher," P. L., VI, 535, I Chron. 6:26 (from zophai, "watcher"). Among the fallen angels there are Adramelec, "honor of the king," P. L., VI, 365, II Kings 17:31; Ariel, "lion of God," P. L., VI, 371, Isa. 29:1; Arioc, "lion-like," P. L., VI, 371, Gen. 14:1, Dan. 2:14; Ramiel, "God is high," P. L., VI, 372, Ezek. 10:35; Nisroc, "eagle, hawk," P. L., VI, 447, II Kings 19:37; Lucifer, "shining one," P. L., VII, 131, Isa. 14:12. The fallen angels' names, of course, add to the irony of their rebellion against God; when they follow Satan, they belie their names and, consequently, their names are blotted out in Heaven (P. L., I, 361-63). The new names which they acquire as devils are such names as Beelzebub, "lord of the fly," P. L., I, 81, Matt. 10:25; Chemosh, "fire," P. L., I, 406, Num. 21:29; Dagon, "fish," P. L., I, 462, Jud. 16:23; and Belial, "worthless, lawless," P. L., I, 490, Deut. 13:13.

adversary (שָׂטָן) to Israel all the dayes of Solomon" (I Kings 11:25). In its first occurrence in Paradise Lost the name Satan is almost translated but not quite; there is nothing in the word itself to indicate a superior enemy or "Arch-Enemy." It is used several more times (I, 271, 757; II, 5, 300, 380, 427) merely as a name with no reference to its meaning. But when the debate of the devils in Pandaemonium is over and Satan has begun his journey towards the new world and man, Milton gives special emphasis to the name in the lines:

Mean while the Adversary of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam'd of highest design,
Puts on swift wings.

(P. L., II, 629-631)

This is the appropriate moment for a statement of the full significance of the name Satan: he is not just another adversary, he is "the Adversary of God and Man" both. He is in Hell because of his opposition to God; he is seeking to leave Hell in order to oppose man and bring about his ruin. The transliteration of the Hebrew word itself carries little meaning because of its familiarity as the name of the Devil, but Milton's translation brings to the reader's consciousness the literal meaning at this crucial point in the action, and that meaning is not likely to be forgotten again whenever Satan is mentioned throughout the epic.

The names of the chief human characters are treated similarly. The names Adam and Eve are transliterations of the Hebrew words for "man" and "to live, to be": אָדָם, "adam," and חַיָּה, "havah," respectively. The literal meanings of both names are men-

tioned in Paradise Lost before the familiar names are associated with the literal renderings. One who is conscious of the meaning of Adam's name associates him immediately with the second word of the poem ("Of Mans First Disobedience . . .") and, consequently, the "greater Man" with the second Adam who will restore what the first man lost. Satan refers to God's purpose to build a new world and "therein plant / A generation" early (I, 653-54), but he does not use the name "man"; that is reserved for Beelzebub, who elaborates on Satan's former hint about the "fame in Heav'n" and refers directly to "som new Race call'd Man" (II, 348). In the opening scene of Book III, in which the Son volunteers to become an obedient man to die in the place of disobedient man, "Man" is on the lips of both Father and Son a total of fourteen times and "mankind" three times within 176 lines (III, 64-240) in such a way as to focus attention on the means by which mankind, having lost Paradise in the first Adam ("having lost" in the foreknowledge of God although the Fall is yet future within the action of the poem), will be restored to Paradise in the second Adam. After his journey from Hell, Satan seeks directions from Uriel so that he may see and admire all God's wondrous works "but chiefly Man" (III, 663); Uriel first uses the name of the first man when he says,

That spot to which I point is Paradise,
Adams abode, those loftie shades his Bowre.

(P. L., III, 733-734)

Once inside the Garden of Eden, Satan views for himself the object of his evil purpose, "Adam the goodliest man of men since

borne" (IV, 323), a phrase in which the poet very effectively brings together the transliterated name and its meaning. It is Satan, however, who brings together all the possible meanings of Adam's name and adds to them his own resentful interpretation:

this new Favorite
Of Heav'n, this Man of Clay, Son of despite,
Whom us the more to spite his Maker rais'd
From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid.

(P. L., IX, 175-178)

Fairly spitting out spite, Satan's speech alludes to the meaning of **אָדָם** as "man," "of the ground," both meanings connected with this Hebrew word. Although Satan is wrong in his assignment of the motive of spite to God in his epithet "Son of despite" (a Hebraism reminiscent of the phrase "Son of Belial" in the Old Testament), there is ironic truth in his disdainful title "Man of Clay," for it is by the fall of the first Adam, the man formed of the dust of the ground, that Paradise shall be lost and man return unto dust in death. Even in this dark and tragic Book IX, however, one does not forget the second Adam who has volunteered to become man, to take up a "darksom House of mortal Clay" (as Milton expressed it in "On the Morning of Christs Nativity," l. 14), in order that "Death his deaths wound" should receive (P. L., III, 252).

Eve is first mentioned as "The Mother of Mankind" who was deceived by the "infernal Serpent" (P. L., I, 36), an allusion to the Biblical reference to "the Serpent [who] beguiled Eve through his subtiltie" (II Corinthians 11:3) as well as to Adam's having

"called his wifes name Eve: because she was the mother of all living" (Genesis 3:20), "existence," or "life," being involved in the meaning of her name. In Paradise Lost the name Eve is first used as the description of the fallen angels begins; they are the ones who corrupted the greatest part of "Mankind," "the Sons of Eve," to forsake God and worship devils. Yet in spite of the stress on the entrance of sin and death through Eve from the beginning of the poem, her name is mentioned also, like Adam's, with overtones of hope and promise: Milton calls the Virgin Mary "second Eve" when Raphael comes to warn Adam and Eve of their danger (V, 387) and again when the Son judges the Serpent for his part in the Fall (X, 183). Thus Eve and Adam carry in their names both connotations of disobedience, sin, and death and the promise of redemption and life through the second Eve and the second Adam. It is Michael who sums up the meaning of Eve's name (we may remember that Satan summed up the meaning of Adam's):

Haile to thee
Eve rightly call'd, Mother of all Mankind,
 Mother of all things living, since by thee
 Man is to live, and all things live for Man.

(P. L., XI, 158-161)

This salutation crystallizes and states the connotations of the name Eve that have been hinted at earlier in the poem and have already been caught by the reader who recognizes the allusion to the Hebrew word involved.

In addition to Milton's use of the names of persons, there

are interesting uses of transliterations of place names in Paradise Lost. Milton uses the term Tartarus twice as a designation for Hell (II, 858; VI, 54) and twice as an adjective: "Tartarean Sulphur" (II, 69) and "tartareous . . . dregs" (VII, 238). An examination of the passages indicates that the primary allusion here is not so much to the Greek Hell referred to in the Iliad as to the Greek verb *ταρταρώω*, used in the New Testament only once, with the meaning "cast down to hell."

εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων
οὐκ ἔφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σιρόις ἑόφου
ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν
τηρουμένους

(Πετροῦ β' 2:4)

Part of Sin's reasoning as she decides to open the gates of Hell to let Satan out is that she owes nothing to God, who hates her, and owes everything to Satan, her father and husband; God it is, she says, who

hath hither thrust me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful Office here confin'd.

(P. L., II, 857-859)

Here the reference is to the place called Tartarus, the lowest Hell, but the expression "thrust me down / Into . . . Tartarus" is almost certainly an allusion to II Peter 2:4, where the phrase "cast down to hell" is translated from *ταρταρώσας*. Again Milton has transliterated a Greek word, and by his translation he identifies Sin's

statement with the only text in the New Testament which uses a verb derived from the noun *Tάρταρος*, a text which speaks of the "angels that sinned" as "cast down to hell."

"Tartarus" is used also by the Father in his commission to Michael and Gabriel to drive out the fallen angels from Heaven

Into their place of punishment, the Gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
His fiery Chaos to receive thir fall.

(P. L., VI, 53-55)

Here the reference is to the deepest Hell but again with the idea of a downward fall closely associated.

In both adjectival uses of the term, "Tartarean" and "tartareous," Milton has reference to the Greek New Testament verb with its expression of downward thrusting motion. In Raphael's account of the creation, he says,

Darkness profound
Cover'd the Abyss: but on the watrie calme
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspred,
And vital vertue infus'd, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid Mass, but downward purg'd
The black tartareous cold infernal dregs
Adverse to life.

(P. L., VII, 233-239)

The Spirit purges downward to the depths the infernal dregs which are adverse to life, and these dregs are "tartareous," that is, they go downward by their very nature. There is nowhere for them to go but to the lowest depths of the bottomless Abyss; that is where Hell is and that is where those angels who have sinned go by nature. It is only in the light of these later uses of "Tartarus" and its deriv-

atives that one fully grasps the fallacy of Moloch's speech in Book

II. Speaking of his projected "open Warr" on God, Moloch says,

he shall hear
 Infernal Thunder, and for Lightning see
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
 Among his Angels; and his Throne it self
 Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
 His own invented Torments. But perhaps
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale
 With upright wing against a higher foe.
 Let such bethink them . . .

 That in our proper motion we ascend
 Up to our native seat: descent and fall
 To us is adverse.

(P. L., II, 65-73, 75-77)

Moloch argues that the "proper motion" of heavenly spirits is upward, and he is right; however, he and the other rebels are no longer heavenly spirits. They have grown gross by sinning and did not even need to be pursued by the Son in their fall to Hell (P. L., VI, 880 ff.). They were not really forced down to Hell; their nature is now that which goes down rather than up. While Moloch speaks of using "Tartarean Sulphur" against God, he is himself a part of the "tartareous . . . dregs" that have been purged downward from Heaven. Satan's journey disproves Moloch's thesis that "Th' ascent is easie." Once Satan leaves Hell, it is hard work for him to make headway upward towards light; hitting a "vast vacuitie . . . plumb down he drops / Ten thousand fadom deep" (P. L., II, 932-34).⁶ Moloch pictures the

⁶Moloch's assumption that ascent will be easier than descent for him and his fellow-rebels is not the only fallacy in his speech. He says,

rebel armies as mixing God's own throne with "Tartarean Sulphur and strange fire," not realizing that it is the nature of tartarean matter to go down to the depths were he and his armies now are and where they will end ultimately after the final Judgment Day. His use of the expression "strange fire" adds powerful irony too; it was for offering "strange fire before the LORD which he commanded them not" (Leviticus 10:1) that Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, were devoured by fire which came out from the Lord.

The keynote for the atmosphere of suspense which pervades Book IV of Paradise Lost -- the idyllic bliss of Paradise and its human inhabitants being described while the Evil One who is to blast all this beauty lurks around and in the Garden -- is the poet's wish

Who but felt of late
When the fierce Foe hung on our brok'n Rear
Insulting, and pursu'd us through the Deep,
With what compulsion and laborious flight
We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easie then.

(P. L., II, 77-81)

Edward S. LeComte has shown that collating the parallel references to the fall of the rebel angels makes it clear that Moloch is continuing the lie or error of Satan in P. L., I, 169, 326, an error repeated by Chaos (II, 996): that is, the error that the rebels were pursued by the elect angels. The true version of the matter is given by Raphael (VI, 880): the Son drove the devils out through the "mural breach" of Heaven single-handed and returned to the Father before the eyes of all his saints "who silent stood / Eye witnesses of his Almighty Acts" (VI, 882-83). LeComte quotes the Richardsons as saying of the devils, "They Imagin'd they were persu'd by Millions . . . ; but were Too much Terrified to look Behind them, and Too much Confounded to Judge of what was doing Above them" (Yet Once More [New York, 1953], p. 145). To the Richardsons' comment it may be added that Moloch is too incensed with wrath and cast down by defeat to be a competent judge of what is easy or hard.

that a warning voice like that which John the Revelator heard cry out upon the occasion of Satan's being cast out as Accuser of mankind might now sound to warn "our first Parents" of "The coming of thir secret foe" (IV, 6-7), "The Tempter ere th' Accuser of man-kind" (IV, 10). The blissful and beautiful background that Eden forms for the author of all evil as he views it from afar and then from within is intensified by Milton's indication of the literal meaning of the Hebrew **עֵדֶן**, transliterated Eden and meaning "pleasant," "pleasure," or "delight." As Satan sits atop Mount Niphates "in prospect of Eden" (P. L., IV, Argument), just before he begins his soliloquy which ends in the determination "Evil be thou my Good" (IV, 110), he views both Earth and Heaven.

Sometimes towards Eden which now in his view
Lay pleasant, his grievd look he fixes sad,
Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun,
Which now sat high in his Meridian Towre.

(P. L., IV, 27-30)

Atop Mount Niphates is an appropriate place for Satan's soliloquy since it gives him a view of both Heaven, which he attempted to lead in revolt against God (with partial success), and Earth, into which he is now planning to bring disobedience and death. And this is an appropriate place in the poem to emphasize that Eden is a place altogether pleasant in contrast with the place of torment and pain from which Satan has come. But this is still a view from without the Garden. Once Satan is inside, sitting like a cormorant atop the Tree of Life, a more extended passage on Eden identifies the Garden with a "farr more pleasant" spot in the area of "pleasant

soile" called Eden:

for blissful Paradise
Of God the Garden was, by him in the East
Of Eden planted; Eden stretched her Line
From Auran Eastward to the Royal Towre
Of Great Seleucia, built by Grecian Kings,
Or where the Sons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telassar: in this pleasant soile
His farr more pleasant Garden God ordaind.

(P. L., IV, 208-216)

In the description of Eden and the Garden in which the best of Eden's pleasures are concentrated which follows, poetic appeal is made to the senses of sight (it is a seat of "various view"), taste (the fruit is of "delicious taste"), touch (the sun "warmly smote" and the rose is "without Thorn"), hearing ("murmuring waters fall / Down the slope hills"), and smell ("vernal aires, / Breathing the smell of field and grove"); Milton's description of sensations felt by the inhabitant of Eden is as much in accord with the literal meaning of Eden, "pleasure," "delight," as poetry can make it. And the fact that one inhabitant, the one through whom these sensations are primarily communicated, is out to rob Eden of all its pleasant aspects intensifies both the unattainable (for sinful man as for Satan) bliss of the Garden and the suspense of the drama as the temptation of Eve and man's Fall is anticipated.

Later, in Book VIII, a play on words in the speech of the Creator to Adam takes on more significance for the reader who has recognized Milton's use of Eden with its Hebraic connotations of a completely pleasant place. When Adam wishes a mate and pleads his need of companionship, God gently chides him for his determination

to taste "No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitarie" (P. L., VIII, 401-402). That is, Adam finds no pleasure in Eden alone, although to be in Eden is to be in pleasure, since Eden means "pleasure" or "pleasant." Discussing her desire to work separately from her husband on the fateful day of the Fall and making use of the technique (the opposite of that just illustrated in the speech of God) of using the name Eden and letting the meaning be understood, Eve somewhat petulantly comments on the state of human happiness in Eden if she and Adam are not secure either "single or combin'd":

Fraile is our happiness, if this be so,
And Eden were no Eden thus expos'd.

(P. L., IX, 340-341)

The roses in Eden are "without Thorn" and at least one exotic flower that blooms there by the Tree of Life was transplanted from Heaven to the place of earthly pleasure; after man's sin, however, the heavenly flower is returned to Heaven where it shades the fountain of life. Milton's transliteration and translation of the name for this flower, the amarant, appears in the scene in Book III of Paradise Lost in which the elect angels bow in reverent adoration to the Father and the Son after the Son has volunteered to die for man and the Father has prophesied that a new creation shall be the result of Christ's work of redemption.⁷

⁷Milton had made effective use of this transliteration from the Greek word for "unfading" much earlier, in Lycidas. Calling on the flowers, through the "Sicilian Muse," to mourn for Lycidas, he says, "Bid Amaranthus all his beauty shed" (l. 149): i. e., let the flower which never fades wither for Lycidas' sake.

With solemn adoration down they cast
 Thir Crowns inwove with Amarant and Gold,
 Immortal Amarant, a Flour which once
 In Paradise, fast by the Tree of Life
 Began to bloom, but soon for mans offence
 To Heav'n remov'd where first it grew, there grows,
 And flours aloft shading the Fount of Life,
 And where the river of Bliss through midst of Heavn
 Rowls o'er Elisian Flours her Amber stream;
 With these that never fade the Spirits Elect
 Bind thir resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,
 Now in loose Garlands thick thrown off, the bright
 Pavement that like a Sea of Jasper shon
 Impurpl'd with Celestial Roses smil'd.

(P. L., III, 351-364)

Milton has here taken the name "Amarant" given by Pliny and Clement of Alexandria to an unfading, purple-velvet colored flower and placed it in Heaven; but it would seem that he has done this not so much on the authority of the Church Fathers as on the basis of two texts in I Peter -- although he doubtless was familiar with other references to the amarant. The first text in Peter's epistle speaks of the "inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away" reserved in Heaven for the elect:

κληρονομίαν ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον,
 καὶ ἀμάραντον, τετηρημένην ἐν
 οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς

(Πετροῦ α' 1:4)

The second text speaks specifically of "a crown that fadeth not away":

τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον

(Πετροῦ α' 5:4). The transliteration "Amarant" from ἀμάραντον

is accompanied by the adjective "Immortal" (in the sense of "undying")

and a few lines later Milton tells the reader that the elect spirits

bind their locks with crowns or garlands of amarantine flowers "that never fade" (1. 360).⁸ The image of the angels casting down their crowns is taken from the Apocalypse.

And round about the Throne . . . I saw foure and twentie Elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crownes of gold . . . And before the throne there was a sea of glasse like unto Chrystal The foure and twentie Elders fall down before him that sate on the Throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crownes before the Throne.

(Revelation 4:4, 6, 10)

Those who think of Milton as lacking in powers of visual imagery should compare such colorful passages as the one quoted above from Book III of Paradise Lost with their sources, such as this passage from Revelation. Beautiful and sublime as the Scriptural passage is, Milton's addition of the flowers "inwreath'd with beams" and impurpling the sea of jasper calls up a much more vivid image of the scene before God's throne. Later, after man has fallen and God convenes the angels to tell them of his judgment upon man, when a trumpet sound calls the angels "from their blissful Bowrs / Of Amarantin Shade" (XI, 77-78), the reader remembers the association

⁸Don Cameron Allen ("Milton's Amarant," MLN, LXXII [April, 1957], pp. 256-58) has shown that the idea of the translation to Heaven of the "Immortal Amarant" comes from Clement of Alexandria's Paedagogus, Lib. 2, Cap. 8, in a context describing the crowns one might win through a faithful Christian life. Although Professor Allen quotes I Peter 1:4 as a possible source for "Amarant," he does not refer to I Peter 5:4, which associates the never-fading amarant with the crown to be conferred upon faithful ministers by the Chief Shepherd. This latter reference seems more closely related to Milton's use of "amarant" in P. L., III, 352-53, 360-61.

between "Amarant" and the immortal, unwithering, unfading beauties of Heaven enjoyed by those who stand firm in contrast with the curse soon to fall upon Paradise through man's disobedience.

Milton's use of "panoplie" as a transliteration of the Greek *πανοπλίαν* , "whole armour," of Ephesians (6:11, 13) has been commented upon briefly in the preceding chapter on authoritative reality. The word is first used with reference to the entire angelic host:

Now when fair Morn Orient in Heav'n appeerd
Up rose the Victor Angels, and to Arms
The matin Trumpet Sung: in Arms they stood
Of Golden Panoplie, refulgent Host,
Soon banded.

(P. L., VI, 525-528)

The allusion is to Paul's exhortation, "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil" (Ephesians 6:11). The phrase "the whole armour" is the A. V. translation of the Greek New Testament phrase *τὴν πανοπλίαν* . The elect angels in Paradise Lost stand "in Arms" against the wiles of Satan and the fallen angels, not knowing of the newly invented cannon that are soon to throw them into confusion. But this reference by Milton to the armor of the angels is primarily preparatory to the description of the armed might of the Son of God. The accompanying chariots and "Cherubic shapes" which go out to war with the Son are drawn from the imagery of Ezekiel, but the description of Christ's person is in terms of the New Testament.

Hee in Celestial Panoplie all armd

Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
 Ascended.

(P. L., VI, 760-762)

This time a fuller translation is given than that supplied for the transliterated "Panoplie" of the angels. The Son is not merely "in Arms" as the angels are; he is "all armd," and that in the whole armor of Urim, the mysterious precious stones of Aaron's high-priestly breastplate by which the Israelites knew the will of God (I Samuel 28:6).

The same Greek word is used in one other place in the New Testament. The reader who associates "panoplie" and "whole armour" with the words of the Son of God as he defends his own power in casting out devils will see a particularly appropriate use of the transliteration and translation in Paradise Lost where the Son is presented as casting out all the devils from Heaven before the foundation of the world. Speaking of Satan as "a strong man" and himself as "stronger than he," Christ defends his power as from God and not from Beelzebub in the following words.

When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods
 are in peace; but when a stronger than hee shall come
 upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his
 armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.

(Luke 11:21-22)

Milton's allusion to the Greek New Testament contrasts "all his armour" in which Satan has trusted (τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ) with "the whole armour of God" (τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ) by which the Son of God overcomes and drives from Heaven Satan and

his hosts. Recognition of the parallel uses of the word in the New Testament increases the appreciation the reader has for the Son as the one to whom "all power is given . . . in heaven and in earth" (Matthew 28:18). Just as the armor of the elect angels could not protect them against Satan's arms (the cannon), all of Satan's armor in which he trusted cannot protect him against the whole armor of the Son of God. By means of such Biblical allusion, Raphael's account of the war in Heaven becomes not only a narration of past conquest of Satan by Christ but also a prophetic foreview of the future conquests of Satan by Christ in his earthly ministry (as celebrated in Paradise Regained), in his death and resurrection, and in his ultimate victory at his return as King of Kings.

Milton's use of transliteration and translation provides an indication of the identity of the Muse he invokes. In his invocation to Urania at the beginning of Book VII of Paradise Lost, he makes it clear by explicit statement that it is the meaning of the name which is of most importance.

Descend from Heav'n Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine
Following, above th' Olympian Hill I soare
Above the flight of Pegasean wing.
The meaning, not the Name I call: for thou
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne.

(P. L., VII, 1-7)

He requests Urania, who has guided him up into the Heaven of heavens, to continue to guide him in his relation of things pertaining to the earth: "still govern thou my Song, / Urania, and fit audience find,

though few" (VII, 30-31). Having hinted at the "meaning" of the name he is invoking in his reference to her birth ("Heav'nlie borne"), Milton states the meaning of Urania near the close of the invocation: "thou art Heav'nlie" (l. 39). Here he is using Urania not as an epithet for Aphrodite, nor as the name of the Greek Muse of Astronomy; Milton calls on the meaning of *οὐρανίος*, which is translated "heavenly" in such passages as Matthew 6 (vv. 14, 26, 32), usually descriptive of God the Father. Thus Urania is the "Heav'nly Muse" invoked at the opening of Paradise Lost as the one who inspired Moses with the knowledge of "how the Heav'ns and Earth / Rose out of Chaos"; it is fitting that the Muse should again be invoked at the opening of Book VII with its quite detailed account of the six days of creation, following Genesis. Milton's reference to Urania as the sister of "Eternal wisdom" is an allusion to Proverbs 8, in which wisdom is portrayed as a personified attribute of God. At one point in Wisdom's self-description, she says, "I wisdom dwell with prudence, and finde out knowledge of wittie inventions" (Proverbs 8: 12). It is possible that what Milton is invoking in Book VII is a heavenly prudence (to be communicated by the Spirit) that will give a spiritual appropriateness to his artistic presentation of affairs described at some length in the Bible. Up to this point in the epic, Milton has dealt primarily with actions in Heaven and in Hell which are scarcely dealt with at all in the Scriptures; now he is to deal with the creation, which is described more fully in the Bible, and he has even more need of the safe guidance of his heavenly Muse, lest,

having successfully "drawn Emphyreal Aire" and presented with unflagging art and almost constant Biblical authority matters outside the "visible Diurnal Spheare," he should now "from this flying Steed unrein'd . . . fall / Erroneous, there to wander and forlorne" (VII, 17-20). Since he has a mortal voice, Milton can now sing more safely "Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole" (l. 23), but he still needs the aid and control of heavenly prudence not only to assure himself of an appropriate audience but also to prevent the "barbarous dissonance" of his age from drowning out his heroic song. The poet implores:

still govern thou my Song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few.
 But drive farr off the barbarous dissonance
 Of Bacchus and his Revellers, the Race
 Of that wilde Rout that tore the Thracian Bard
 In Rhodope, where Woods and Rocks had Eares
 To rapture, till the savage clamor dround
 Both Harp and Voice; nor could the Muse defend
 Her Son. So fail not thou, who thee implores:
 For thou art Heav'nlie, shee an empty dreame.

(P. L., VII, 30-39)

Whether Milton meant to invoke prudence or some other virtue, however, is not of first importance in this passage; if it had been, Milton would have made it clear. What is primary is that Milton recognizes his need for heavenly (ὁ οὐράνιος) guidance and control in his imaginative presentation of matters which have been revealed from Heaven. Even though his method will circumscribe his audience to one "fit . . . though few" and his Biblical subject risks rejection by many even of his own age, Milton intends, with heavenly direction, to continue his assertion of Eternal Providence and his justification of

ways of God to men in terms of God's revelation to men in the Bible.

At the close of Book VII the angels sing, praising God for his power to bring good out of evil,

Witness this new-made World, another Heav'n
From Heaven Gate not farr, founded in view
On the cleer Hyaline, the Glassie Sea;
Of amplitude almost immense, with Starr's
Numerous, and every Starr perhaps a World
Of destind habitation; but thou know'st
Thir seasons: among these the seat of men,
Earth with her nether Ocean circumfus'd,
Thir pleasant dwelling place.

(P. L., VII, 617-625)

"Hyaline" is a transliteration of $\psi α λ ί ν η$, literally "of glass," used only twice in the New Testament, each time with $θ ά λ α σ σ α$, "sea" (Revelation 4:6, 15:2). The scenes in the Apocalypse in which these uses occur are both in Heaven and one is specifically located as "before the Throne" of God (Revelation 4:6). The angels do not mean, then, that the "new-made World" is founded on the sea of glass but rather that it is now founded in view of those who stand on the glassy sea before the throne of God and that now it can be seen constantly as a witness to God's power to bring good out of evil. In both Bible passages, the scene is one magnifying God. In the first (Revelation 4:6) it is the glory of God as Creator that is being hymned, as the context shows.

Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour,
and power: For thou hast created all things, and for
thy pleasure they are and were created.

(Revelation 4:11)

Since the angels are praising God as Creator in the passage from the

epic, the appropriateness of Milton's allusion to this Biblical context is evident. In the second New Testament passage in which the phrase *θάλασσα ὑαλίνην* , "sea of glass," is used, it is the glory of God in the justice of his judgments that is being praised.

Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty:
just and true are thy wayes, thou King of saints . . .
Who shall not feare thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy
Name? For thy judgments are made manifest.

(Revelation 15:3-4)

Thus God is being praised by the angels as they view from the "cleer Hyaline, the Glassie Sea" the "pleasant dwelling place" that the Almighty has fashioned for "Thrice happie men": happy in their worship of God, in their position of rule over the works of God, and in their ability to multiply a "Race of Worshippers" of God. But the sea of glass is not only a vantage point for viewing the glory of God as manifest in his creation; it is also a place from which God's judgments upon a disobedient world are surveyed in the Apocalypse, and the angels of Paradise Lost sing of men as "Thrice happie if they know / Thir happiness, and persevere upright" (VII, 631-32). The if carries powerful dramatic irony for any reader, but for the reader who recognizes Milton's use of hyaline as an allusion to John the Revelator's scenes in Heaven, a Heaven rejoicing in the works of God and yet anticipating the wrath of God to be poured out upon a disobedient world, there is also the foreshadowing of the opening of Book IX with its view of a Heaven alienated from and angry with disobedient man.

Similar uses of transliterated words from the original Scriptures are made in Milton's shorter epic poem. Paradise Regained, like Paradise Lost, opens with an invocation to the Spirit to inspire the poet. After a statement of the theme, that Christ through his obedience recovered what Adam lost through disobedience, and "Eden rais'd in the wast Wilderness," Milton prays:

Thou Spirit who ledst this glorious Eremite
 Into the Desert, his Victorious Field
 Against the Spiritual Foe, and broughtst him thence
 By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
 As thou art wont, my prompted Song else mute,
 And bear through highth or depth of natures bounds
 With prosperous wing full summ'd to tell of deeds
 Above Heroic, though in secret done.

(P. R., I, 8-15)

As shown in the first chapter, Milton based his poem on the accounts of Christ's temptation as given in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with the order and much of the detail drawn from Luke. Each of these first three writers of the Synoptic Gospels refers to Christ as having been led of the Spirit into the wilderness, and each uses the word *ἐρημος*, translated in the A. V. "wilderness" and by Milton "desert" (Matthew 4:1, Mark 1:12, Luke 4:1). Milton's reference to Christ as an "Eremite" is based on the Greek word for "wilderness" or "desert," the solitary, desolate place in which the Son of God met all the temptations of Satan and, repulsing them all, "Recover'd Paradise." The first Adam faced Satan's advances, through his wife, in the midst of bliss and plenty and was conquered; Milton's use of the term "this glorious Eremite" emphasizes the fact that the last Adam faced Satan's wiles in a place of hardship and privation and

yet defeated the Tempter.

A more familiar title for Christ is used in the second book of Paradise Regained with the translation following. It is the transliterated Hebrew word Messiah, followed by the translation into English "Anointed" (II, 50).⁹ Like the movement of Mary's thoughts from impatience to patience (II, 66-104, discussed in the preceding chapter) is the movement of the complaints of Jesus' newly baptized disciples from doubt to faith and from impatience for God to act to a patient willingness to wait on his providence, a movement which depends, in part, on the disciples' association of the term Messiah with its literal meaning, "anointed."

God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
Behold the Kings of the Earth how they oppress
Thy chosen, to what highth thir pow'r unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast
All fear of thee, arise and vindicate
Thy Glory, free thy people from thir yoke,
But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him,
By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown,
In publick, and with him we have convers'd;
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his Providence; he will not fail.

(P. R., II, 42-54)

The disciples begin their complaint at line 30 of Book II in despair;

⁹The name "Messiah" for the Son appears often in the major epic, especially in Raphael's account of the rebellion and war in Heaven. The transliterated term is accompanied by translation in the Father's proclamation that his Son is to be worshipped (P. L., V, 664) and in a reference to the incarnation of the Word at Bethlehem (XII, 359). The best example of Milton's use of the combination for special poetic effect seems, however, to be that discussed above in the text (P. R., II, 43, 50).

the name "Messiah" is mentioned twice (11. 32, 43), the second time as they impatiently call upon God to act. Then, as though suddenly remembering that the literal meaning of מָשִׁיחַ (Daniel 9:25, 26), transliterated "Messiah," is "Anointed," they take new hope that one whom God has so signally pointed out publicly as his Anointed One will not be withdrawn nor recalled but will return to them and finish the work he has begun. Beginning in despair, they end with "hope" and "joy" on their lips (1. 57), and the turning point is the remembrance that God has performed so far as to send One who is anointed for a certain task, and their knowledge of the Old Testament principle that one who is anointed for a specific duty will surely fulfill it brings renewed hope to them. Their assurance that "he will not fail" (1. 54) may spring from a remembrance of such Old Testament examples as David, anointed by the prophet Samuel (I Samuel 16:13), undergoing many dark days as he fled for his life from the mad Saul (I Samuel 21:10), and finally crowned king in fulfillment of the prophecy involved in the anointing (II Samuel 5:4).

After Christ has emerged complete Victor over the temptations of Satan, a "fiery Globe" of angels minister to him and hymn his praises; but to Satan the angels say:

hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God: he all unarm'd
Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice
From thy Demoniack holds, possession foul,
Thee and thy Legions, yelling they shall flye,
And beg to hide them in a herd of Swine.

(P. R., IV, 625-630)

The reference to "Legions" of devils begging to enter into swine connects this passage in the poem with Mark's account of Christ's casting out devils from a man in the country of the Gadarenes. Christ is recognized by the evil spirits as being the Son of God; after hailing him as such and causing the demoniac man to identify himself as "Legion" because there are so many devils in him, the devils ask for and are given permission to go into a herd of swine when they are cast out. The man, now healed, is identified as δαιμον-
 ἰξόμενον, "him that was possessed with the devill" (Mark 5: 15). Milton chose to use this story as an allusion in the hymn of the angels because it is a future proof of the victory Christ has now won over Satan in the wilderness; the story demonstrates that the devils can no longer doubt that Jesus is the Son of God, that they know he has power over them, and that they know that their ultimate fate is defeat at his hands and torment forever in the deep. As a part of the allusion, and as a final example of Milton's subtlety in using transliterations from the Greek New Testament, "Demoniac" is based on the Greek δαιμονιξόμενον and then explained as "possession foul." Both the story and the terms in which Milton alludes to it highlight mankind's miserable state of sin because of one man's loss of Paradise and at the same time emphasize the "glorious work" upon which Christ has qualified himself to enter, the work by which Paradise is regained. One who has surrendered his will and inner peace to Satan is in Hell though he be in Paradise, and one who, through the power of Christ, has his

inner peace restored by being liberated from Satanic influence is in Paradise though he be in the wilderness.

Variant Translations

Sometimes Milton's linguistic skill in the use of Biblical allusion in his epic poems is reflected in his own variant translations into English from the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures without transliteration of the foreign words. Of the examples selected for discussion here, however, three are slightly akin to Milton's practice of giving both transliteration and translation; these are passages in which Milton gives his own variant translation along with the A. V. translation of the same words within the same poetic context. Such double references help make clear the particular Bible text to which he is alluding. At the same time they afford the hint that Milton often gives his own translation with no indication, by a parallel use of the A. V. translation, that his translation is a variant from the standard English version. Three examples of Milton's use of his own and A. V. translations within the same passage are in Paradise Lost; no examples of this particular practice have been discovered in Paradise Regained. There are, however, many examples in both epics of Milton's use of his own translation for individual Greek and Hebrew words, examples which are discoverable when the allusion to a particular Scripture is otherwise made clear.

When Raphael has closed his discussion of astronomy at the beginning of Book VIII with the advice to Adam that he "be lowly wise" (l. 173) and leave high matters "to God above" (l. 168), Adam

replies:

How fully hast thou satisfi'd mee, pure
Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene,
And freed from intricacies, taught to live,
The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the sweet of Life, from which
God hath bid dwell farr off all anxious cares,
And not molest us, unless we our selves
Seek them with wandring thoughts, and notions vaine.

(P. L., VIII, 180-187)

Under Raphael's guidance, Adam further concludes that "to know /
That which before us lies in daily life, / Is the prime Wisdom"
(ll. 192-94); anything else is fume which renders us unpracticed and
unprepared in things that most concern us, leaving us "still to seek"
(l. 197). The allusion here is to a portion of Christ's Sermon on
the Mount, a portion in which he exhorts his disciples to trust com-
pletely in the Father's care day by day and not to indulge in anxiety
about the future. After giving examples of the Heavenly Father's
provision for the living creatures and vegetation of nature, Christ
says:

Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat?
or, what shall we drinke? or, wherewithal shall we
be clothed? . . . But seeke yee first the kingdome of
God and his righteousnesse, and all these things shall
be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the
morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the
things of it selfe: sufficient unto the day is the
evill thereof.

(Matthew 6:31, 33-34)

Again, as he has been seen doing earlier in this study, Milton is
projecting New Testament concepts back into the Garden of Eden. If
God is the same "yesterday, today, and forever," then his bidding,

through his Son, to his children not to indulge in worry about external affairs of life is as applicable at one time of human history as at another, and Adam can speak in Biblical language of "Life, from which / God hath bid dwell farr off all anxious cares" without anachronism. The important point to be made here, however, is that "to have anxious care" is a literal translation of the Greek verb *μεριμνάω* as it appears in Matthew 6 (vv. 25, 27, 31, 34), translated in the A. V. each time as "to take thought" (negatively, with *μή*, as "take no thought"). Thus Adam's conclusion is in language which suggests Christ's injunction against "taking thought" as it appears in the A. V. (with the Miltonic addition to "thoughts" of the adjectival participles "perplexing," l. 183, and "wandering," l. 187), but with the added force of the Greek New Testament which makes it clear that it is not merely thinking which is proscribed but rather it is indulging in anxiety (the Vulgate has anxiemini), or being overly careful to the point of worry about things which are external to man's chief concern: to know God and practice righteousness day by day. It is especially appropriate that Adam allude to this Scripture in Book VIII. It is in this book that preparation is made for the chain of events which leads to the Fall; Adam admits to Raphael that Eve's beauty is such that "Authoritie and Reason on her waite" (l. 554) and is gently rebuked for being transported so by "an outside" (l. 568). It is precisely Adam's over-anxious solicitude for his wife's happiness that leads him to neglect his place of authority as husband (thus neglecting the right

order which God has ordained) and to allow Eve to work in the Garden alone on the day of the temptation, as described in Book IX. Having recognized that "to know / That which before us lies in daily life, / Is the prime Wisdom" (VIII, 192-94) in Biblical language, Adam neglects his own responsibility of authority in the family, letting Eve venture out alone to face the Tempter. In his judgment, after the Fall, the Judge tells Adam that his place was "to beare rule, which was thy part / And person, had'st thou known thy self aright" (X, 155-56). Adam's words in Book VIII, then, are prophetic; his neglect of his place of authority, coupled with his anxious care for the pleasure of his wife,¹⁰ renders him "Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek" that which most concerns him on the fatal day when sin enters the world and death by sin.

It is evident that Milton, while basing Adam's statement about "anxious cares" on both the English and the Greek versions of Matthew 6, is making a different application; the thoughts involved in the gospel passage are those about the material needs of life:

¹⁰See I Corinthians 7:32-33 for a Pauline passage, certainly known by Milton, which seems to support the interpretation set forth above, particularly in the Greek version: "But I would have you without carefulnesse. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife." The root word for "carefulnesse" and the verb "careth" in this passage is the Greek *μεριμνάω*.

food, drink, raiment. In Paradise Lost the "perplexing thoughts" are about astronomical and other scientific matters which, in Milton's view, are as detrimental to Adam in Paradise as worries about the material needs of life are spiritually detrimental to Christians redeemed from the Fall and therefore committed to a life of trust in God. Adam could not be worrying about the need for food and clothing in the midst of the bounteous and sinless pleasures of Eden, but he does need to concern himself with God and his righteousness while barring vain speculations about the universe from his mind; the New Testament Christian is not forbidden to learn whatever he can about God's creation, but his main concern, which is, like Adam's, to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," must not be neglected in the vain and anxious pursuit of mundane things. The situation of Adam is far different from that of those to whom Christ preached the Sermon on the Mount, but the basic problem is similar: How can man best please God? Milton's answer is twofold: Don't be anxious, but trust God to take care of difficult matters, whether they be matters of the body or the mind; and keep first things first, putting the major emphasis on spiritual responsibility to God rather than on bodily needs or intellectual curiosity.

Milton's description of the evening in which God enters the Garden of Eden to pronounce judgment upon Adam and Eve for disobeying his command is beautiful both for its poetry and for its portrayal of the Son of God as loving and mild even in judgment upon those who have sinned.

Now was the Sun in Western cadence low
 From Noon, and gentle Aires due at thir hour
 To fan the Earth now wak'd, and usher in
 The Eevning coole when he from wrauth more coole
 Came the mild Judge and Intercessor both
 To sentence Man: the voice of God they heard
 Now walking in the Garden, by soft windes
 Brought to thir Eares, while day declin'd, they heard,
 And from his presence hid themselves among
 The thickest Trees, both Man and Wife, till God
 Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud.
 Where art thou Adam?

(P. L., X, 92-103)

The description is based on the Genesis account.

And they heard the voyce of the LORD God, walking in the garden in the coole of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden. And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?

(Genesis 3:8-9)

The word "coole" in the A. V. is translated from the Hebrew וַיְהִי, which is translated in the margin for this text, also in the A. V., as "winde." The word is translated elsewhere in the A. V. ninety times as "winde" and only one time (in the present text) as "coole." Milton's explanation of the translation "coole" is that the evening is the hour when "gentle Aires" are waked and cause the atmosphere to be cool. The fact that the same Hebrew word is translated some 232 times in the Old Testament (A. V.) as "spirit" probably influenced Milton's taking the "Eevning coole" as being indicative of the mood of God, who comes "from wrauth more coole" than the cool winds of evening.

There is beauty in the poetry here and, consequently, delight for the reader; but equally important, if not more important in Milton's

plan to "assert Eternal Providence," is the instruction for the reader. A literal translation of the Hebrew word is made the basis for emphasizing the time of man's judgment as a time of "gentle Aires" and "soft windes," and the A. V. translation is used to portray the Son as "coole" and "mild" in his sentence upon poor fallen man; he is the "gracious Judge without revile" (X, 118). Not only do the literal winds make the evening cool and carry the voice of God to the ears of the sinning pair but the gentle spirit of the Son leads him to judge man in accord with the words spoken by the Father as the Son left Heaven as "Judge and Intercessor both":

Easie it may be seen that I intend
 Mercie colleague with Justice, sending thee
 Mans Friend, his Mediator, his design'd
 Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntarie,
 And destin'd Man himself to judge Man fall'n.

(P. L., X, 58-62)

A final example of Milton's use of the A. V. translation of a Hebrew word coupled with his own variant and more literal translation occurs in his account of the second day of creation.

Again, God said, let ther be Firmament
 Amid the Waters, and let it divide
 The Waters from the Waters: and God made
 The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
 Transparent, Elemental Air, diffus'd
 In circuit to the uttermost convex
 Of this great Round: partition firm and sure,
 The Waters underneath from those above
 Dividing: for as Earth, so hee the World
 Built on circumfluous Waters calme, in wide
 Crystallin Ocean, and the loud misrule
 Of Chaos farr remov'd, least fierce extreames
 Contiguous might distemper the whole frame:
 And Heav'n he nam'd the Firmament: So Eev'n
 And Morning Chorus sung the second Day.

(P. L., VII, 261-275)

The A. V. account of the second day of creation is Milton's source.

And God said, Let there bee a firmament in the midst of the waters: and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament; and divided the waters, which were under the firmament from the waters, which were above the firmament: and it was so. And God called the firmament, Heaven: and the evening and the morning were the second day.

(Genesis 1:6-8)

It is immediately apparent that Milton has followed the statement of what occurred as given in Genesis; his variation in the account is practically all for the sake of explanation. As a part of his explanation of the Biblical "firmament," Milton uses a literal translation of the Hebrew word **רָקִיעַ** (Genesis 1:6), translated in the A. V. "firmament," and meaning, literally, "expanse." This does not mean, however, that Milton was accepting the idea of infinite space beyond this universe. The firmament is explained as an "expanse," but of "liquid, pure, / Transparent, Elemental Air" composing a "Crystallin Ocean" as a shock absorber and insulator between this world and the realm of Chaos. The expanse is further explained as forming a "partition firm and sure" (l. 267).

Perhaps the most famous of Milton's independent translations from the Hebrew, a variant from all English versions, is his "brooding" for the Hebrew verb **רָחַץ** instead of the A. V. translation "mooved" in Genesis 1:2. This Miltonic translation appears in two passages, both having to do with the work of the Holy Spirit in the creation.

Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread

Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss
And madst it pregnant.

(P. L., I, 19-22)

Darkness profound
Cover'd th' Abyss: but on the watrie calme
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspred,
And vital vertue infus'd, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid Mass.

(P. L., VII, 233-237)

Both of these passages are based on the Genesis statement, "And the earth was without forme, and voide; and darknesse was upon the face of the deepe: and the Spirit of God mooved upon the face of the waters" (Genesis 1:2). The Hebrew word given above, which the A. V. translators rendered as "mooved" and Milton translated as "brooding" in Paradise Lost and as incubabat in his De Doctrina Christiana, is used only three times in the Hebrew Bible. In the A. V., it is rendered by a different English word each time: "mooved" here in Genesis, "flutter" in Deuteronomy 32:11, and "shake" in Jeremiah 23:9. The latter reference is to the quaking of the bones of Jeremiah at the horror of his own prophecies and seems to have no connection with Milton's translation of the Genesis text. The occurrence of the same Hebrew word in Deuteronomy, however, was certainly known to a Bible scholar like Milton, and his peculiar image of the Spirit's outspread wings may have come from that source. Referring to God as an eagle, Moses said of the Israelites ("Jacob"):

As an Eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over
her young, spreadeth her wings, taketh them, beareth
them on her wings: So the LORD alone did lead him
[i. e., Jacob], and there was no strange god with
him.

(Deuteronomy 32:11-12)

"Fluttereth" here is a translation of the Hebrew רַחַפֵּה, *rachaph*, translated by Milton in Paradise Lost as "brooding." The picture given in Deuteronomy is of God as an eagle preparing a nest for his chosen people in the land of Egypt, fluttering (perhaps "brooding") and bringing forth the young nation, spreading out his wings of protection as he leads them out of Egypt into the Promised Land. Whatever Milton's source for his translation, it is peculiarly his and it is not used in any English translation of the Genesis passage. By his use of the term "brooding" Milton suggests the importance he gave to the work of the Spirit in creation; the Spirit is not seen as merely moving about surveying the scene but as the powerful, life-giving force that brought Heaven and Earth out of Chaos. In Milton's scheme the creation of the universe is by command of the Father (P. L., VII, 163-67), by the agency of the Son (VII, 225-33), and by the organizing and ordering power of the Spirit (VII, 233b-42). It is difficult to see how a thoroughgoing Trinitarian poet could have more carefully arranged his account to avoid minimizing the role of any Person of the Trinity, and it is clear that Milton, by his description and particularly by his use of the vivid image suggested by the word "brooding" and intensified by the figure of the mighty outstretched wings, gives the Spirit a more prominent place in the work of creation than Trinitarian translators of English versions of the Bible have done.

Amidst the description of the beauties of Eden in Book IV of

Paradise Lost is a lovely poem. It is Eve's tribute to Adam as her "Author and Disposer," the one she loves and obeys. Nine lines beginning "Sweet is the breath of morn" are followed by nine repetitive lines beginning "But neither breath of Morn . . ." (IV, 641-56) and ending with the first word, "sweet." In the first part Eve is speaking of her love for the sights, smells, and sounds of Nature which surround her; in the second part, she places Adam above them all -- none of these wonders of Paradise can charm her without Adam. Yet she is puzzled that the night should be so beautiful when there is no one abroad to enjoy the "walk by Moon, / Or glittering Starr-light" (ll. 655-56); she is like the Bride in the Song of Solomon who desires to rise "by night . . . and goe about the citie" (3:1-2). And like the Bride in the Song of Songs, she speaks of the rising of the morning as "the breath of morn." Here again one must look to Milton's knowledge of Hebrew for the source of his phrase. The A. V. has the Bride of Solomon say:

Untill the day breake, and the shadowes flee away:
turne, my beloved, and be thou like a Roe or a yong
Hart, upon the mountaines of Bether.

(Song of Solomon 2:17)

The verb "breake" is a translation of the Hebrew פוּחַ , puach, "to breathe," also translated in the A. V. as "blow," "puff," "utter," "speak." The Biblical Bride is thinking of the day, or morning, as breathing soft airs as it rises; Eve speaks of the breath of morn in its rising, accompanied by the "charm of earliest Birds" wafted on the gentle breezes of the morning. This brief Hebraic

phrase, used just before the retirement of Adam and Eve, is followed, after Eve's Satanically induced dream, by Adam's awaking Eve in Book V (ll. 17-25) in language strongly reminiscent of the language of the Bridegroom to the Bride in the Song of Solomon (2:10-13). Helen Darbishire has commented on the peculiar appropriateness and significance of the phrase "charm of earliest Birds" in the passage quoted from Book IV,¹¹ and the Hebraic image of the rising of the morning as a "breathing" is no less appropriate; the movement of both image and language, by their repetition, fix an indelible impression of the sweet freshness of the daily progression of time in the natural surroundings of the first two human lovers, and the soft sounds emphasize the gentle, yielding (even when questioning) dependency of woman at her loveliest.

Milton refers to Satan as "the Evil one" at crucial points in both his epic poems; in Paradise Lost it is immediately preceding Satan's temptation of Eve, while in Paradise Regained it is Christ who uses the term in connection with his rejection of Satan's temptation of him with the kingdoms of the world. Such an epithet for Satan does not appear in the A. V. When ὁ πονηρός is used in the Greek New Testament, however, it may be translated as "evil,"

¹¹"Milton had a true taste in country words I was alive suddenly to the true meaning of 'the charm of earliest birds' that delighted Milton's Eve, when I heard the word on the lips of an old country woman on Boar's Hill . . . : 'I can hear the charm of the birds out here.' (It then struck me that the Old English clerm is the word for the buzzing of bees or twittering of birds.)" Milton's Paradise Lost [London, 1951], p. 12.)

"the evil," or even "the evil one." In such a passage as the following (from the Lord's Prayer, after "lead us not into temptation") the evil involved may be thought of as personal rather than as abstract: *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, "deliver us from the evil (one)" (Matthew 6:13a). To the reader familiar with this possibility of reading *τοῦ πονηροῦ*, literally "the evil," as "the Evil One," the horror of Eve's peril, though she is in the Garden of Eden, is intensified in the scene in which Satan finds her alone and thus open to his temptation.

Her graceful Innocence, her every Aire
Of gesture or lest action overawd
His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought:
That space the Evil one abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remaind
Stupidly good, of enmities disarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envie, of revenge.

(P. L., IX, 460-466)

The Hell within Satan soon ends his delight, and then, of course, his hate is the more excited for having been allayed momentarily.

A similar use of "Evil one" is seen in Paradise Regained, although here it is not merely the poet who recognizes the nature of Satan; Christ himself identifies Satan as the full and consummate personification of evil, the Tempted recognizes his Tempter. (Satan has been recognized by Christ in all the various forms he has assumed, but it is at the offer of Satan to give the kingdoms of the world to Christ on condition that Christ worship him that Satan appears manifestly as the personification of all blasphemy, fraud, and evil.) Christ asks,

Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
 As offer them to me the Son of God,
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
 That I fall down and worship thee as God?
 Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
 That Evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.

(P. R., IV, 189-194)

Earlier in Paradise Regained when Satan hurries to his "gloomy Consistory" to report on what he saw at the baptism of Christ at Jordan, he reports on the childhood and youth of Christ in the language of Scripture.

His birth to our just fear gave no small cause,
 But his growth now to youths full flowr, displaying
 All vertue, grace and wisdom to atchieve
 Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.

(P. R., I, 66-69)

Satan's words follow those of Luke in the A. V.: "And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man" (Luke 2:52). In at least one respect the language is closer to the original Greek than to the English version. The word translated "favour" in the A. V. is *χάρις*, meaning "grace." But more is involved here than Milton's preference for the more literal translation. The idea, though expressed by Satan, that Christ displayed increasing grace as well as virtue and wisdom as he grew to manhood is consistent with the picture of Christ which Milton gives in Paradise Regained: Christ is one who has the limitations of man in that God the Father is opening up his mission to him step by step; he is not one who has all the answers from the beginning. As Christ meditates, he says:

And now by some strong motion I am led
 Into this wilderness, to what intent

I learn not yet, perhaps I need not know;
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

(P. R., I, 290-293)

The A. V. translators may have feared that using "grace" for χάρις in Luke 2:52 would identify Christ too much with ordinary men who are dependent upon God's grace and who must gradually increase in grace just as they increase in wisdom or stature as they grow older. Milton did not feel that such humanity detracted from the dignity or Godhead of the Son and would have had no such fears. The speech of Satan reflects both a marked respect toward Christ as an adversary by Satan and Milton's own attitude towards the incarnate Son of God as human in every sense except that of being the seed of Adam. In both Milton's epic poems it is the view of Christ that one gets from the Epistle to the Hebrews -- the divine being who became obedient man, being made perfect through suffering that he might be both Saviour and Succourer to those who are tempted -- that is foremost rather than the view of Christ given in the Fourth Gospel. Such a view seems reflected in the use of the word "grace" as a literal translation instead of the weaker "favour" of the A. V.

In both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained Milton alludes to a text in the Pauline epistle to the Romans which refers to the ultimate victory of God over Satan; in both allusions, Milton is using his own variant translation of the Greek verb rather than the A. V. translation. When Milton speaks of Satan as the one whom the Son "shall tread at last under our feet" (P. L., X, 190), and when the angels in the last book of the shorter epic say to Satan, "thou

shalt fall from Heav'n trod down / Under his feet" (P. R., IV, 620-21), the reference is to the sixteenth chapter of Romans in the Greek New Testament.

ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης συντρίβει τὸν
σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ἐν τάχει.

(Πρὸς Ρωμαίους 16:20)

"And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly" (Romans 16:20). In the A. V., "bruise" is translated from the future form of the Greek verb συντρίβω, which the A. V. renders in the margin as "tread." Milton prefers and uses "tread" in Paradise Lost and "trod" in Paradise Regained. This is at first surprising, since both epic passages are connected (the first explicitly, the second implicitly) with the Genesis prophecy that the seed of Eve would bruise the head of the Serpent. That Milton chose to use the alternative "tread" indicates his consistent effort to stay as near the literal meaning of the original languages of the Bible as possible, but his choice may have been based as much on the image of Christ's victory that is involved as on anything. Rather than an image of Christ violently stamping upon Satan to bruise him, we have an image of Christ, in majestic dignity, walking over Satan who lies prostrate in utter defeat. Thus both the coolness of the sentencing Judge in Paradise Lost, Book X, and the calmness of the tempted but victorious Saviour in Paradise Regained, Book IV, are maintained and emphasized as the same mood of quiet deliberation with which Satan will be finally doomed.

The Latin Bible

Despite Milton's love for the Latin language and for Latinized English, there is very little in Paradise Lost that can be confidently designated as reflecting Milton's use of the Latin Bible and none in Paradise Regained. When it is remembered that for Milton the "only or the greatest heresy" was Roman Catholicism,¹² it may be understood why he made so little use of the Vulgate in his major poetry. The examples chosen for discussion here are those which show evidence in the English words used of the influence of specific texts in the Latin Bible; how much syntactic constructions in Paradise Lost may be echoes of Latin constructions in the Vulgate is not considered.

An instance in which Milton's interpretation of a Bible text seems to be based on the Latin Bible occurs in his description of Hell in Book II of Paradise Lost, where the torments of the damned are described as being alternately in fire and in ice.

Thither by harpy-footed Furies hail'd,
At certain revolutions all the damn'd
Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extreams, extreams by change more fierce,
From Beds of raging Fire to starve in Ice
Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.

(P. L., II, 596-603)

Where the A. V. of Job 24:19 -- "Drought and heate consume the snow

¹²"Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration; And What Means May Best Be Used Against the Growth of Popery," in The Student's Milton, ed. Frank Allen Patterson (New York, 1947), p. 915.

waters" -- appears to have no connection with Milton's passage, the Vulgate reading of the same text in Job carries the idea of a transfer from fire to snow, from heat to cold: "Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium."¹³

Like the A. V. translators before him, who referred in their dedication of their version to King James to those who had wished for a Catholic king over England so that "some thicke and palpable cloudes of darknesse would so have overshadowed this Land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk," when Milton thought of an extraordinarily thick darkness, he thought of that supernatural darkness which Moses had caused to descend upon the land of Egypt as one of Jehovah's plagues upon Pharaoh; and both Milton and the A. V. translators thought of that darkness in the language of the Vulgate. In Paradise Lost when Michael foretells to Adam the plagues upon Egypt, he says, "Darkness must overshadow all his bounds, / Palpable darkness, and blot out three dayes" (XII, 187-88). The Vulgate account of God's judgment of darkness which settled over Egypt is of "tenebrae super terram Aegypti tam densae, ut palpari queant" (Exodus 10:21). The earliest reference in the epic to such a "felt darkness" is made by Beelzebub when he describes the arduous journey to be taken by the one who will volunteer to spy out the new creation:

¹³Cf. Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (III, i, 121-22), in which Claudio, contemplating the horrors of Hell as he faces death, says:

To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling region of thick ribbed ice.

who shall tempt with wandring feet
 The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way.

(P. L., II, 404-407)

Milton could have used such a word as "tangible" to substitute for the awkward "which may be felt" clause of the A. V., but by the use of "palpable" he could express his meaning perfectly, briefly, and in a recognizably Scriptural way.

One passage in Paradise Lost which Patrick Hume, followed by Henry John Todd, annotated as reflecting the influence of the Greek New Testament seems actually to reflect the influence of the Latin Vulgate instead.¹⁴ Milton's description of the Son of God as one in whom "all his Father shon / Substantially express'd" (III, 139-40) is certainly an allusion to the portrayal of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews as "the express image of [God the Father's] person" (Hebrews 1:3), but the Greek phrase in the Hebrews passage, *χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ* (literally, "the character of his substance"), does not seem as near Milton's phrase as the Vulgate's "figura substantia ejus." Milton doubtless knew the Epistle to the Hebrews in all the languages involved, but his words in the epic are a poetic combination of the English version's "express" and the Vulgate's "substantia" rather than a literal

¹⁴The Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. Henry John Todd (London, 1801), III, 194. (Note on P. L., III, 139-40.)

translation of the Greek phrase. Even if Milton had desired to allude to the Greek original of the text rather than to the Latin, he could hardly have used a form of the transliterated word "hypostasis," a word which, although known to his fit audience as well as "substantia," would have been impossible to fit into a blank verse line in such a way as to conform to the Miltonic style.

In Milton's invocation to Urania at the opening of Book VII there is evidence of the influence of the Latin Vulgate upon his choice of a word for the activity of Urania before the world was created.

Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,
Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy Celestial Song.

(P. L., VII, 8-12)

The English version of Proverbs is drawn upon here:

When there were no fountains abounding with water,
before the mountains were settled, before the hills was
I brought forth Then I was by him, as one
brought up with him: and I was daily his delight,
rejoicing always before him.

(Proverbs 8:24-25, 30)

Instead of the "rejoicing" of the A. V., however, Milton has "play" (l. 10); he is translating "ludens" from the Vulgate version of Proverbs 8:30 -- "Cum eo eram cuncta componens; et delectabar per singulos dies, ludens coram eo omni tempore."¹⁵

¹⁵The Hebrew word translated "rejoicing" in the A. V. of Prov. 8:30 is sachag, translated "play" ten times in the O. T., notably as "before the LORD" (II Sam. 6:21, I Chron. 13:8), may be Milton's source.

Raphael's description of the creation of animal life on the sixth day ranges from "Behemoth biggest born of Earth" (P. L., VII, 471) to the small "Insect or Worme" (l. 476). Of the latter, Raphael says,

These as a line thir long dimension draw,
Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
Minims of Nature; some of Serpent kinde
Wondrous in length and corpulence involv'd
Thir Snakie foulds, and added wings.

(P. L., VII, 480-484)

To indicate that not all that came under the heading of "Worme" was small, Milton uses an anglicized form of "minima" in the Proverbs passage concerning the four little things upon earth which are, nevertheless, exceedingly wise: "Quattor sunt minima terrae, et ipsa sunt sapientiora sapientibus" (Proverbs 30:24). The wise man of Proverbs goes on to discuss the ants, conies, locusts, and spiders to show how, though they are minima, they accomplish much. In Milton's passage the "Worme" family are not all "Minims," neither in size, nor strength, nor wisdom; some are "of Serpent kinde," and a few lines further on appear references to the Serpent in that ominous line that is to grow more ominous through repetition: "The Serpent suttl'st Beast of all the field" (l. 495).

When Adam is presented with Eve, he identifies her with himself, names her, and makes a prophecy concerning man's future relationship with his wife, all in the language of the English version of Scripture -- all, that is, except for one key word taken from the Vulgate and a further Miltonic addition.

I now see
 Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self
 Before me; Woman is her Name, of Man
 Extracted; for this cause he shall forgoe
 Father and Mother, and to his Wife adhere;
 And they shall be one Flesh, one Heart, one Soule.

(P. L., VIII, 494-499)

In accord with his impassioned pleas for recognition of mental and spiritual, as well as physical, compatibility in marriage, Milton adds "one Heart, one Soule." And his word for the union of man and woman, a union which comes before all filial ties, is "adhere." The word alludes to the Latin rendering of Genesis 2:24 -- "Quamobrem relinquet homo patrem suum, et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae: et erunt duo in carne una." Milton may have been using the Vulgate reading with the older meaning of "adhere" in mind, a meaning used by Shakespeare (as in "Nor time, nor place, did then adhere"): "to be consistent with, in accord or agreement with, appropriate to." Such a meaning would be consistent with Milton's view of true marriage as a marriage of agreeable minds and spirits as well as a union of bodies and consistent also with his addition of "one Heart, one Soule" to the Biblical "one Flesh." "Cleave," the word used of the union of man and wife in the A. V., would not have provided the connotations Milton desired as the "adhere" from the Vulgate does.

A final example of Milton's allusions to the Latin Bible remains to be presented here. When the Father prepares to send the archangel Michael to the earth to expel Adam and Eve from Paradise, he alludes to his previous judgment upon the fallen angels. In the Father's speech, Milton places the phrase "peccant Angels" which

associates the speech with a text in the Latin New Testament.

But let us call to Synod all the Blest
Through Heavn's wide bounds; from thence I will
not hide
My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed,
As how with peccant Angels late they saw;
And in thir state, though firm, stood more confirmd.

(P. L., XI, 67-71)

The allusion is to Peter's argument (II Peter 2:4-9) that "If God spared not the angels that sinned" ("Si enim Deus angelis peccantibus non pepercit"), and if he spared not the world at the time of the flood, except for Noah and his family, and if he spared not the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, except for Lot, then God knows "how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of Judgment to be punished." That is, Peter is arguing that God's past judgments assure the believer that his future judgments will be just; Milton is portraying God as manifesting all his judgments to the entire heavenly host that all may see the righteousness of his judgments. The Biblical allusion, when it is analyzed, is appropriate to the context in Paradise Lost, and it is by the phrase "peccant Angels," based on the "angelis peccantibus" of the Vulgate, that Milton's reference to a specific Bible passage is identifiable.

By his use of allusions to the English Bible Milton could achieve for his readers authoritative reality as the examples discussed in the first chapter of this study demonstrate. But Milton added to this and went beyond it by his use of references to the languages of the original Scriptures and to the Latin Bible. By the method (familiar to his contemporaries) of transliterating

foreign words and giving their English equivalents, by showing his familiarity with problems of translation in certain texts and giving his own rendering, and by occasionally echoing words or phrases from the Latin Scriptures Milton gave impressive proof of his linguistic versatility in Biblical exegesis and interpretation and thus of his right to be heard on subjects of such tremendous importance as the assertion of "Eternal Providence," the justification of God's ways to men, and the exaltation of Christ as the Son of God through whom lost Paradise was regained. Often thus far in this discussion recognition of the uses Milton makes of his allusions to the English, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Scriptures has been seen emphasizing the dramatic effect of the characterization, language, setting, and action in the poems. To a more detailed examination of such dramatic uses of Biblical allusion in Milton's epic poems we now turn out attention.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DRAMATIC EFFECTIVENESS OF BIBLICAL ALLUSION (I):

SETTING AND ACTION

Since Milton projected his greatest literary work originally as an epic, later as a drama, and finally again as an epic, that he makes use of dramatic devices to a greater degree than is usual in an epic writer is a fact which is not surprising and which has been commented on frequently by Milton scholars. A full discussion of the probable trend of Milton's thinking from epic to drama and back to epic as the medium of his greatest work is found in Masson's edition of Milton's poetry,¹ Verity's edition of Paradise Lost,² and Hanford's handbook on Milton.³ One modern editor of Milton has even gone so far as to say of the longer epic: "It is a paradox of the history of the growth of Paradise Lost that it became more dramatic by changing in Milton's imagination from a drama to an epic."⁴ The

¹Milton's Poetical Works, ed. David Masson (London, 1910), III, 81-85.

²Milton: Paradise Lost, ed. A. W. Verity (London, 1936), II, xxii-xliii.

³James Holly Hanford, A Milton Handbook (New York, 1954), pp. 177-193 (Fourth Edition).

⁴Paradise Lost, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1935), p. xliii.

argument of this editor is that the best lyric and choric effects which the drama might have contained are in the epic poem, while the demands that would have been made upon the reader's credulity and patience by the representation of supernatural beings by human actors and the presentation of long narratives as episodes in a play are avoided. Although Milton would doubtless have followed the classical drama (as he was to do later in Samson Agonistes), his dramaturgy could hardly have escaped the influence of the Elizabethan dramatic tradition. Milton's skillful use of such dramatic techniques of characterization, establishment of setting, and iron-ic foreshadowing of action as were used by the Elizabethans has been remarked on briefly by Douglas Bush⁵ and more at length by James Holly Hanford.⁶ Professor Hanford says,

Milton's ultimate decision to adopt the epic form must have resulted from a perception that neither the one element [the human action] nor the other [the wide sweep of the divine action] could receive its full development within the contracted limits of tragedy. In epic there was ample scope for all. But the epic which would include them would differ radically from any that Milton had previously contemplated on typically heroic themes. For it would retain a core of drama inherited from the original conception and would be subject to the influence of the dramatic quite as much as of the epic tradition.⁷

⁵Paradise Lost in Our Time (Gloucester, Mass., 1957), p. 65 ff. (first published, 1947).

⁶"The Dramatic Element in Paradise Lost," SP, XIV (1917), 178-195.

⁷Ibid., p. 193.

In discussing the dramatic element in Paradise Lost, Professor Hanford shows many parallels in technique between Milton's epic and the plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare; one parallel, that of the use of the dramatic soliloquy by a villain, commented on by both Professors Bush and Hanford, may be expanded here for the particular purpose of showing its relation to a further dramatic technique inherited by Milton from the great Elizabethans: that of the use of Biblical allusion for dramatic effect.

Edward Phillips' testimony that Paradise Lost was first designed as a tragedy is borne out by the evidence of the Trinity Manuscript containing, in rough outline, plans for a five-act drama first entitled "Paradise lost" and afterward "Adam unparadiz'd." According to Phillips, the soliloquy of Satan which appears near the opening of Book IV of Paradise Lost was written as the exordium to Milton's projected tragedy. The soliloquy begins:

O thou that with surpassing Glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God
Of this new World; at whose sight all the Starrs
Hide thir diminisht heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell.

(P. L., IV, 32-39)

Professor Hanford has pointed out parallels between later utterances of Satan in this soliloquy and statements from Marlowe's Mephistophilis⁸

⁸Cf., e. g., Satan's "my self am Hell" (P. L., IV, 75) and Mephistophilis' "Where we are is Hell" (Dr. Faustus, V, 122); Satan's self-torturing remorse is generally similar to Marlowe's devil.

and Faustus and Shakespeare's Richard III and Claudius of Hamlet.⁹ What has not been pointed out is that in such soliloquies, as in other dramatic speeches, Milton follows the practice of the Elizabethan dramatists in using Biblical allusions to intensify the dramatic effect gained. Satan's "which way shall I flie . . . Which way I flie is Hell" (P. L., IV, 73, 75), like Faustus' "Whither should I fly? / If unto God, he'll throw me down to Hell" (Dr. Faustus, V, 76-77), involves an allusion to the Bible.

Whither shall I flie from thy presence? If I ascend
up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in
hell, behold, thou art there.

(Psalm 139:7b-8)

The cry of the psalmist in this Scripture is one of faith in the omnipresence and the care of God for him and his welfare -- God is even in Hell and loves him; Satan and Faustus both make it a cry of despair -- wherever they go is Hell and Hell hurts. The effect of the allusion on the reader is to increase his awareness of the state of both speakers as condemned in their own self-will.

Examples of such dramatic use of the Bible in Elizabethan

⁹See Satan's "all Good to me is lost; / Evil be thou my Good" (P. L., IV, 109-10) with Richard III's "since I cannot prove a lover, / To entertain these fair well-spoken days, / I am determined to prove a villain, / And hate the idle pleasures of these days" (Richard III, I, i, 28-31). See also Satan's "is there no place / Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left? . . . Disdain forbids me" (P. L., IV, 79-80, 82) with Claudius' "What rests? / Try what repentance can: what can it not? / Yet what can it, when one can not repent?" (Hamlet, III, iii, 64-66).

drama abound. When Marlowe's The Jew of Malta is opened with a prologue by Machiavelli, Biblical allusions are used to dramatic advantage: Machiavelli's sneer at the proverb, "Birds of the air will tell of murders past!" as "foolerie" is an allusion to the Biblical warning against cursing the king or the rich even in secret, "for a bird of the air shall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter" (Ecclesiastes 10:20); this allusion sets the stage for Barabas' mocking reversals of Biblical texts all through the play.¹⁰ When Othello begins with Iago's remarking of the Moor to Roderigo (and to the audience), "I follow him to serve my turn upon him; / We cannot all be masters, nor all masters / Cannot be truly followed" (I, i, 42-44), he is revealing his evil purpose to gain revenge on Othello for not preferring him to the lieutenantcy, but he is, at the same time, using language recognizable to a Bible-centered audience as allusion to Scripture: "My brethren be not many masters, knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation. For in many things we offend all" (James 3:1-2a). The allusion intensifies the character of Iago as malicious because of his perversion of the Biblical reference, and it foreshadows the "greater condemnation" to come upon Othello because of his being the master of and having given offense to such a man as Iago.

¹⁰In a paper entitled "Marlowe's Looking-Glass View of Scripture," read before the Southeastern Renaissance Conference at Chapel Hill, N. C., in April, 1958, the writer has discussed more fully the uses Marlowe made of Biblical allusions in the two plays The Jew of Malta and Dr. Faustus.

Milton's use in his epic poems of this particular aspect of the English dramatic tradition, the use of Biblical allusion to intensify dramatic effects, gains somewhat the same responses as the playwrights before him gained in their plays, provided, of course, that the reader recognizes the Biblical allusions involved. The identification of and analysis of such allusions in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained is the purpose of this and the following chapter.

The various responses made by a spectator to a stage performance or by a reader to a work of literature are a result of the interaction of four elements which no narrative can do without: setting, action, language, and character. Since responses are made not to one of these elements in isolation but to the interaction of two or more of them, separating the elements for discussion is an artificial task and, indeed, if the dramatic power of the play or other work of literature is to be described and explained, it is an impossible task. There is always overlapping: discussing setting, one finds that one has instead gotten over into action or character or both. And, of course, everything involves language. Still, there seems no better way to examine Milton's use of Biblical allusion for the achievement of dramatic effects than to group the allusions around the function served, whether the use is primarily for the establishment of setting (including psychological mood or atmosphere as well as physical setting), for contributing to the movement of or foreshadowing the direction of the movement of the action, for calling special attention to the irony or other special

effect gained by what and how a character, or the poet, says in language, or for adding further dimensions to the delineation of principal characters.

Setting

Hell

The action of Paradise Lost begins as "the Poem hasts into the midst of things, presenting Satan and his Angels now fallen into Hell" ("Argument," Book I), and before Satan is seen or heard, a description of the setting is given in Scriptural language. The part of the action "past over," describing briefly Satan's rebellion and ejection from Heaven with his rebel hosts, prepares the way for Milton's portrayal of Hell by the picture of Satan

Hurld headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
With hideous ruine and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,

(P. L., I, 45-48)

lines which recall Christ's words, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Luke 10:18), John's apocalyptic vision of the "bottomless pit" in which Satan is chained (Revelation 20:1,2), and both Peter's and Jude's references to the "chains" with which the fallen angels are bound (II Peter 2:4, Jude 6). But after nine days and nights of oblivion, Satan's doom "Reserv'd him to more wrath" (I, 54), the idea of reserved judgment for the fallen angels being taken from II Peter and Jude, and he finds himself in "Torments" as "round he throws his baleful eyes" (I, 56) much like Dives, who "in hell . . . lift up his eyes, being in torments" (Luke 16:23). Hell flames

as one great furnace, "yet from those flames / No light, but rather darkness visible" emanates (I, 63), following Job's description of the land of death as a land "without any order [Milton's Hell is in Chaos] and where the light is as darknesse" (Job 10:22). Milton varies the Biblical wording while basing his description on the Bible: his "fiery Deluge" (I, 68) and "burning lake" (I, 210) is later called the "Lake of Fire" (I, 280) and is identifiable with the "lake of fire" of Revelation (20:15); his "ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd" (I, 69) is the Biblical "brimstone" with which the lake of fire burns continually (Revelation 21:8). Nor is there any doubt about the origin of this terrible setting. Milton says,

Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
For those rebellious, here their Prison ordain'd
In utter darkness,

(P. L., I, 70-72)

following the words of Christ, who spoke of a place of "everlasting fire, prepared for the devill and his Angels" (Matthew 25:41), and of a place of "outer darknesse" (Matthew 22:13). It is only after Milton has established the setting in Hell in Biblical language and with allusions to specific texts that he begins to bring in classical ideas of the abode of the damned with his listing of the "four infernal Rivers": Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, and Phlegethon. Even the description of the "adventrous Bands" of fallen spirits who roved in "confus'd march forlorn" through the dark and dreary vales of Hell "and found / No rest" (II, 614-17) reflects the Biblical comment of Jesus about the unclean spirit who "walketh through dry places, seek-

ing reste, and findeth none" (Matthew 12:43, Luke 11:24). Any reader, of course, recognizes the setting and knows that the action of Books I and II takes place in Hell, for he is told this explicitly. It is the reader who knows and recognizes the Biblical descriptions of Hell, however, who feels at once the horror of the place and the powerful irony involved in Satan's pretentious bombast about "Better to reign in Hell then serve in Heav'n" (I, 263).

As Hell is characterized by darkness, Heaven is characterized by light, and the contrast is utilized in making the transition from Hell to Heaven dramatically effective. Long before Milton's invocation to light at the opening of Book III, in which he establishes the setting for the scenes in Heaven, he has been preparing the way for the transition from the "darkness visible" of Hell and the "ancient Night" of Chaos to the brilliant light of the new universe and of Heaven. Within the first two lines of his first utterance in Hell, Satan refers to the "happy Realms of Light" (I, 85) from which he and his armies have fallen. The contrast darkens Hell the more, and the darkness is deepened when the evil angels rise from the lake of fire like the locusts that darkened the land of Egypt in Moses' day (I, 340-43). The contrast between the Devil and his darkness and God and his light is brought together in one line when the future blasphemies of these fallen angels are being described: "And with their darkness durst affront his light" (I, 391). In the assembly of devils, Belial holds out the hope that "This horror will grow milde, this darkness light" (II, 220) and Mammon asks, "cannot we

his Light / Imitate when we please?" (II, 269-70). When Beelzebub's counsel of indirect revenge by an attack on God's new creation, man, has been accepted by the devils, Beelzebub holds out the future possibility of their dwelling in "some milde Zone . . . not unvisited of Heav'ns fair Light" (II, 397-98). Finally, Satan sums up the vast distance from darkness to light, from Hell to Heaven, from the Devil to God in the lines:

long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to Light.

(P. L., II, 432-33)

After the reader has made his exit from Hell with Satan, has struggled with him up through Chaos to "A glimmering dawn" (II, 1037), and catches a glimpse of Heaven and of "This pendant world," he is abundantly prepared for the beautiful invocation to light which opens Book III. The invocation provides a sharp contrast to the Biblical darkness of Hell, establishes the Biblical setting of pure light for Heaven, and foreshadows, through references to nature, the setting of Book IV in the earthly Paradise in Eden.

Heaven

It is not only a setting of physical light as opposed to physical darkness that Milton seeks to establish at the opening of Book III. It is also a setting of light as representative of God and righteousness as opposed to the evil represented by Satan and his angels in the first two books. This spiritual contrast has already been referred to, but many Scriptures are alluded to in the

invocation to light as a means of making this contrast, as well as the contrast in physical setting, more emphatic. "Hail holy light, ofspring of Heav'n first-born" (P. L., III, 1) alludes to the first words spoken by God in the Genesis account of creation, "Let there be light" (Genesis 1:3), and when the poet asks if he may without blame refer to light as "of th' Eternal Coeternal beam," he immediately quotes "God is light" (III, 3; I John 1:5) and alludes to the Pauline statement that God "only hath immortalitie, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto" (I Timothy 6:16) with the reference to God as one who "never but in unapproached light / Dwelt from Eternitie" (III, 4). Then alternatively it is suggested that light is

Bright effluence of bright essence increate,
Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream
Whose Fountain who shall tell?

(P. L., III, 6-8)

Reference is made here to the Apocryphal statement that wisdom is "a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty . . . she is the brightness of the everlasting light" (Wisdom of Solomon 7: 25, 26) and to God's question to Job, "Where is the way where light dwelleth?" (Job 38:19). Allusion is made again to the Divine Fiat lux which preceded the creation of the firmament, or Heaven, and even the sun, when Milton says to light:

 before the Sun,
Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a Mantle didst invest
The rising world of waters dark and deep.

(P. L., III, 9-11)

An additional allusion is made to a psalm which speaks of God as one "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment" (Psalm 104:2). Having identified light with God, Milton proceeds to describe the Father as enthroned above all height with angels as "thick as Starrs" around him and "on his right / The radiant image of his Glory" (III, 60-62). God is hymned by the angels in terms of light:

Fountain of Light, thy self invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant Shrine,
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appeer,
Yet dazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil thir eyes.

(P. L., III, 375-382)

Thus light and light imagery are associated with God and Heaven as the appropriate divine setting just as darkness has been associated with Satan and Hell as the appropriate diabolic setting, and in the establishment of both settings, Milton makes liberal use of Biblical allusion. Soon, in Book IV, the earth, man's abode, is to be the center of attention and there are found both the powers of light and the powers of darkness; Gabriel and his angelic guard are in Eden for man's welfare while Satan enters the Garden to seek man's destruction. After the antithesis set up between light and darkness, it comes as no surprise that Satan's preliminary attempt on Eve (in a dream) takes place at night. But aside from the opposition of light and darkness, Milton also prepares in the invocation to light in Book III for the description of the earthly Paradise to follow in Book IV.

Eden

The Biblical allusions Milton uses in describing the Garden of Eden and its inhabitants have been discussed in an earlier chapter. What is needed here is to emphasize the fact that the setting (both physical and psychological) for the great drama of man's temptation and the Fall is based firmly on a Biblical description of Eden. The Scriptural opposition between darkness and light is continued, with appropriate Biblical allusions, throughout the description of Eden, where, from Book IV forward, there are the prince of darkness, angelic ministers of light, and the human pair which have become the focal point in the attention of Hell and Heaven -- and the reader. It has been mentioned that Eve's bad dream takes place at night, and Biblical allusion is utilized in connection with that night and its aftermath.

Just before Adam and Eve retire on the night that Satan is to make his initial attempt, they speak thus in their devotions to God: "Thou also mad'st the Night, Maker Omnipotent, and thou the Day" (IV, 724-25). This allusion to the declaration of the psalmist that "The day is thine, the night also is thine" (Psalm 74:16a) makes it clear that God is still in control of things, even though a fateful night is falling. Only by God's permission could Satan raise his head from the burning lake in Book I, and it is only by God's permission that Satan has succeeded in escaping Hell, getting into Paradise, and in now using the night for his own devilish purposes. He is caught in the act of seeking to raise in the mind of Eve "inordinate desires / Blown up with high conceits ingendring pride"

(IV, 808-809) by the angelic guards and expelled from the Garden. Although God has control of both night and day, in poetic consistency with the opposition of light and darkness in the setting, when Satan flees, the shades of night flee with him (IV, 1015). Immediately following the close of Book IV, Gabriel and his troops having put Satan out of Eden, Book V opens with the lovely image of the rising of the morning, an image combined of Biblical and classical elements:

Now Morn her rosie steps in th' Eastern Clime
Advancing, sow'd the Earth with Orient Pearle.

(P. L., V, 1-2)

The Biblical allusion is to the image of the psalmist, "Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart" (Psalm 97:11). There is also, in the first line, a reminiscence of the recurring *ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως* of Homer's *Odyssey*. The image prepares a pleasant psychological atmosphere for the cheering of Eve after her dream, the morning hymn of our first parents, and the visit of a heavenly messenger to Adam's bower.

After Eve has related her dream of the night before to Adam and been cheered by him, the two join in a hymn of praise to God in which they call upon the various orders of creation -- angels, stars, planets, sun and moon, and all the creatures of earth -- to give praise to the Creator. The framework of the hymn is taken from Psalm 148 and the apocryphal Song of the Three Children. This framework from Scripture, together with Milton's additions, serves in the speech of Adam and Eve to give an attractive and dramatically effec-

tive picture of Paradise in the early morning that could hardly be as effective if it were merely given in the narration of the poet. After calling upon beings and things supramundane to praise God, the hymn descends to terrestrial nature. A comparison of the psalm with the hymn of Paradise Lost will make evident how Milton filled in a Scriptural framework with beautiful poetry which is at once lyrically descriptive and earnestly devotional.

Praise ye the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all deepes: Fire and haile; snow, and vapour; stormie wind fulfilling his word: Mountaines, and all hilles; fruitfull trees, and all cedars; Beasts, and all cattel; creeping things, and flying fowl . . . Let them praise the Name of the LORD.

(Psalm 148:7-10, 13)

The order, in Milton's hymn, becomes: "vapour" -- "wind" -- "trees" -- "deepes" -- "flying fowl" -- "dragons" -- "Beasts, and all cattel; creeping things" -- "Mountaines, and all hilles."

Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise
From Hill or steaming Lake, duskie or grey,
Till the Sun paint your fleecie skirts with Gold,
In honour to the Worlds great Author rise,
Whether to deck with Clouds the uncoloured skie,
Or wet the thirstie Earth with falling showers,
Rising or falling still advance his praise.
His praise ye Winds, that from four Quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every Plant, in sign of Worship wave.
Fountains and yee, that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
Joyn voices all ye living Souls, ye Birds,
That singing up to Heaven Gate ascend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise;
Yee that in Waters glide, and yee that walk
The Earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
Witness if I be silent, Morn or Even,
To Hill, or Valley, Fountain, or fresh shade

Made vocal by my Song, and taught his praise.

(P. L., V, 185-204)

It is into such a natural setting, a setting in which all Nature recognizes and praises its Maker, that Raphael comes to warn Adam of his enemy Satan and to relate the story of Satan's rebellion in Heaven. Paradise was seen in Book IV primarily through the eyes of the Devil, and Adam and Eve were seen as oblivious to the lurking evil in the midst of their innocent bliss. After Eve's dream, however, there is a consciousness that something is not quite right, although Adam's explanation of the dream is based on his knowledge of human nature within and does not take into account any outside evil influence. It is Raphael's mission to make Adam aware of this outside influence in the person of Satan, and his mission is fulfilled within the day after Eve's dream.¹¹

¹¹Milton's handling of setting when a long narrative about action taking place in a setting different from that in which the narrating is being done is interesting. As a dramatist would, he puts in reminders to the reader that the war in Heaven of Books V and VI is being related to Adam by Raphael, as when Raphael says to Adam that the march of the elect angels was like the "Birds in orderly array on wing" who "Came summond over Eden to receive / Thir names of thee" (VI, 74-76); but the reader is so caught up in the action of Heaven that the present setting in Eden is all but forgotten. Thus the invocation to Urania which opens Book VII is as necessary to bring the reader back to earth as it is for any other purpose; like the poet, he needs to be returned to his native element.

Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
 Within the visible Diurnal Spheare;
 Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole,
 More safe I Sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
 To hoarce or mute, though fall'n on evil dayes
 On evil dayes though fall'n, and evil tongues;

Although the main action of Book IX, the temptation and sin of Adam and Eve, takes place in the light of day, the opposition of light and darkness as representative of good and evil is maintained. The book opens, in accord with the tragic notes of the introduction, at night. Satan returns to Eden not only at night, but at midnight; furthermore, he has spent the preceding seven twenty-four hour periods in a "space of seven continu'd Nights" (IX, 63) by staying constantly on the dark side of the earth. The Evil One loves "darknesse rather then light" because his deeds are evil indeed (John 3:19). He returns to Paradise on the eighth night and, discovering where the Tigris River goes underground at the foot of the mount of Paradise

In darkness, and with dangers compast round,
And solitude.

(P. L., VII, 21-28)

In this personal passage, Milton uses Biblical allusions which help explain his meaning and at the same time set a mood for that which is to come: a mood of expectation of the Fall. Milton returns the reader not only to the earth of Adam but also, by anticipation, to the earth of Milton, an earth under a curse and afflicted by the "barbarous dissonance / Of Bacchus and his Revellers" (VII, 32-33), an earth in which a great voice, though neither hoarse nor mute, has fallen on evil days and evil tongues. Bible passages alluded to are: "Remember now thy Creatour in the dayes of thy youth, while the evill dayes come not . . . while the Sunne or the light . . . be not darkened" (Eccles. 12:1-2) and "walke circumspectly, not as fooles, but as wise, Redeeming the time, because the days are evill And be not drunke with wine but be filled with the Spirit; Speaking to yourselves in Psalms and Hymnes, & spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord" (Ephes. 5:15-19). Although Milton is old and his light is darkened, he is not hoarse; he lives in evil days when others are drunk with wine and walk as fools, but he is not mute. With heavenly aid, he continues to sing, both because of and in spite of his position, "Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole."

to rise by the Tree of Life within the Garden,

In with the River sunk, and with it rose
Satan involv'd in rising Mist.

(P. L., IX, 74-75)

After Satan has compassed the earth in darkness, entered Paradise, chosen the "wilie Snake" as the instrument of temptation, unburdened himself of one of his devilish soliloquies, and entered the sleeping Serpent to await the morn, it is with a sigh of relief mingled with anxiety that one greets Milton's description of the dawn. The beginning of the day is described in Biblical terms: the light which dawns on Eden is "sacred Light" (IX, 192) for "God is light" (I John 1:5) and all things that breathe, as from a great altar, "send up silent praise / To the Creator, and his Nostrils fill / With grateful smell" (IX, 194-97), as when offerings were made on an Old Testament altar and "the LORD smelled a sweet savour" (Genesis 8: 21).

But all is not right in Eden. Eve has already been affected by the dream caused by Satanic suggestion, and she, unaware that Satan's night-hatched scheme to use the Serpent to lead man into sin has already been put into operation since he is now in the Garden in serpentine form, broaches to Adam in Biblical language her plan "to dress / This Garden" (IX, 205-206; Genesis 2:15) more efficiently by their working separately. After she has won her point over Adam's wiser objections and has begun to work in an isolated area, Satan, "to his wish, / Beyond his hope" (IX, 423-24), spies Eve

Veild in a Cloud of Fragrance, where she stood,
 Half spi'd, so thick the Roses bushing round
 About her glowd, oft stooping to support
 Each Flour of slender stalk, whose head though gay
 Carnation, Purple, Azure, or spect with Gold,
 Hung drooping unsustained, them she upstaies
 Gently with Mirtle band; mindless the while,
 Her self, though fairest unsupported Flour,
 From her best prop so farr, and storm so high.

(P. L., IX, 425-433)

Milton compares this "delicious" setting for the Tempter's approach to Eve to mythical gardens,

Or that, not Mystic, where the Sapient King
 Held dalliance with his faire Egyptian Spouse.

(P. L., IX, 442-443)

In the Song of Solomon the Bride speaks of her beloved as having gone "downe into his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lillies" (6:2). Milton's identification of the Bride of Solomon's Song with the wise king's Egyptian wife is based on the words of the Bridegroom, "How beautifull are thy feet with shooes, O Princes daughter!" (Song of Solomon 7:1) coupled with the account of Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh (I Kings 3:1). Thus the setting of Eve just before Satan begins his temptation is given a Biblical background by comparison with the sensual beauty of the garden of Solomon. It is no wonder that Satan, confronted by such beauty, is tortured more "the more he sees / Of pleasure not for him ordain'd" (IX, 469-70) and resolves even fiercer hate and stronger determination to ruin mankind.

Involved in the Biblical comparison to Eve's setting is a double irony. If Adam had maintained his position of authority as

"head" and "prop" of Eve, his "fairest unsupported Flour" (IX, 428, 432; I Corinthians 11:3), instead of giving in to her desire to work separately, Eve would not be in this place, alone, viewed by the Tempter, and Adam and his posterity might not have been led into sin and death. The Biblical situation is a similar one: if Solomon had not indulged his weakness for "strange women," of whom his "Egyptian Spouse" was the first (I Kings 1:11), he and his nation would not have been led into idolatry. Again there is irony in the reference to "dalliance" by a "Sapient King." After Adam has eaten of the fruit with Eve, the pair begin to burn in lust, and Milton echoes the reference to Solomon in the lines:

Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.
Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
 And elegant, of Sapience no small part.

(P. L., IX, 1015-1018)

And Adam proceeds to demonstrate how much sapience he has gained from the fruit by his horrifyingly blasphemous joke,

if such pleasure be
 In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,
 For this one Tree had bin forbidden ten.

(P. L., IX, 1024-1026)

But after sin comes shame, and Adam, like the sinners in the Apocalypse, wishes that he might be covered, not by rocks and mountains, but by the thickest and highest woods; of the face of "God or Angel, earst with joy . . . beheld" he cries out to the forest trees, "Hide me, where I may never see them more" (IX, 1090), echoing the cry of the mighty men of John's vision, who pray to the rocks and

mountains, "hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the Throne" (Revelation 6:16). The Biblical allusion emphasizes dramatically the shift that has come about in man's attitude towards his natural setting; the trees which have served as a pleasant shade while Adam communed with his Maker and with Raphael are now thought of only as a means of hiding from God and his messengers of light. Like the Tempter, Adam now loves darkness rather than light because his deeds are evil.

Adam and Eve remain hidden among the thick trees of Paradise, engaging in bitter "mutual accusation . . . but neither self-condemning" (IX, 1187-1188), until the evening; then the Father sends the Son to Eden to judge fallen man. The setting of the judgment scene is established in Biblical language. "The coole of the day" with "soft windes" carrying the sound of the Judge's voice to the guilty pair in their hiding place (Genesis 3:8; P. L., X, 95-101) emphasizes the gentleness and mercy with which the Judge tempers his justice. Later the same setting becomes the place where Adam and Eve repent in humble contrition for their sin, encouraged to believe that they will be forgiven by remembering the mild and gracious temper of their Judge and his tender care for them in clothing them against the changed climate of an earth under the curse of sin.

The Atmosphere of Alternatives

In addition to his use of the Bible in the establishment of physical setting and psychological mood, Milton uses Biblical allusion in such a way as to create an atmosphere of alternatives, of freedom

of choice, both for the actors in Paradise Lost and for the reader.¹² During Raphael's visit to Adam's bower in Book V, both Adam and the reader become acutely conscious of man's ability and responsibility to make free choices between alternatives. First it is the reader. He does not have to recognize the Biblical allusion involved, for Milton makes an explicit statement which carries his point. Recognition of the allusion, however, intensifies the atmosphere that Milton is developing, the atmosphere of the ability of both angels and men to choose good or evil, to obey or disobey their Maker.

Mean while at Table Eve
Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence
Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousie
Was understood, the injur'd Lovers Hell.

(P. L., V, 443-450)

Milton is applying the reference to the "sons of God who saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and . . . took them wives of all which they chose" (Genesis 6:2) to both Raphael and Adam. The two opposing interpretations of this Biblical passage, both of them

¹²There are matters on which Milton discusses alternative theories without dogmatically asserting, as poetic statement, either alternative as true, without any Biblical allusions. For example, although his universe in P. L. is constructed according to the Ptolemaic system, the Copernican system is suggested as possibly true by Raphael (VIII, 122-178), and although Milton accepts the theory that the sun's course was altered after the Fall, he presents the alternative explanation that the earth's poles were turned "ascanse . . . twice ten degrees and more" (X, 651-91).

referred to in other parts of his epic poems, are (1) that the sons of God represent the fallen angels who took human wives and bred a race of giants before the flood and (2) that the sons of God represent the human descendants of the godly line of Seth who intermarried with the women of the line of Cain.¹³ Milton's point in the passage from Paradise Lost quoted above is twofold: if ever an angel could have been excused for falling in love with a human woman it would have been when Raphael saw Eve in all her naked beauty as she ministered to his needs at Adam's table; if ever a man could have been excused for lusting after a woman and being jealous of anyone else's enjoying the sight of her it would have been in this bower scene. "But in those hearts" -- the heart of Raphael and the heart of Adam -- "Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy / Was understood." In Book IV, when Satan sees the lovers together, he cannot resist a "jealous leer maligne" (l. 503), for he has chosen to follow evil; Raphael, on the other hand, though possessed of as free a will as Satan, knows neither libidinous love nor jealousy, for he has chosen to follow God and good. A few lines further after the reader has been made conscious of the atmosphere of free alternatives that prevails and that it is by choice that Adam and

¹³ See P. L., III, 463-65; P. L., XI, 621-27; P. R., II, 179-81. In the first reference, which is noncommittal, the speaker is Milton; in the second, which adopts the sons of Seth theory, the speaker is Raphael; in the third, which agrees with the fallen angel hypothesis, the speaker is Satan. It may be safe to assume that, as one conscious of the dramatic character of the speakers in his poems, Milton gave what he felt to be the truth to Raphael and what was either unreliable or false to Satan.

Raphael are good, Adam becomes conscious of his own freedom as he has not been before. In answer to Adam's question, "What meant that caution joind, if ye be found / Obedient?" (V, 513-14), Raphael replies:

God made thee perfet, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy power, ordaind thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity;
Our voluntarie service he requires,
Not our necessitated.

(P. L., V, 524-530)

The allusion to the sons of God of Genesis serves as a means of preparing not only for this pronouncement on free will but also for the free choice of Satan to rebel and the free choice of Abdiel to remain loyal to God, soon to be related by Raphael.

In Book X, having pronounced judgment upon Adam and Eve and the Serpent, the Son, "both Judge and Saviour sent" (X, 209), takes pity on the pair who stand before him naked to an atmosphere now to suffer adverse change because of sin, and he clothes

Thir nakedness with Skins of Beasts, or slain,
Or as the Snake with youthful Coate repaid.

(P. L., X, 217-218)

Here the mood of free choice is established by the alternatives Milton refers to as present in the Biblical text alluded to: "Unto Adam also, and his wife, did the LORD God make coates of skinnnes and cloathed them" (Genesis 3:21). The reader may take his choice and believe either that God killed the animals to provide coats for the man and woman or that the skins were merely shed to be naturally

replaced by new skins for the animals. The pair have both their outward and inward nakedness hidden by the gracious action of the Son although neither Adam nor Eve has yet shown repentance. The Son "thought not much to cloath his Enemies" (X, 219), an allusion to the text "when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son" (Romans 5:10), which emphasizes at once the provident grace of God and the still unrepentant state of the sinners.

Repentance must come as voluntarily as did transgression and, later in Book X, it does come, but not before the mood of alternative choices is emphasized further. The angels hymn the Son, after his ultimate victory over sin and death has been announced by the Father, as

Destin'd restorer of Mankind, by whom
New Heav'n and Earth shall to the Ages rise,
Or down from Heav'n descend.

(P. L., X, 645-647)

The New Heaven and New Earth will either rise out of Chaos like the first Heaven and Earth (P. L., I, 9-10), as Michael later indicates that it will (XII, 546-49), or it will descend from the abode of God as John, in the Apocalypse, saw the new creation "coming downe from God out of heaven" (Revelation 21:2). Milton, through the hymn of the angels, is maintaining the atmosphere of alternatives and even emphasizing it in Book X preceding the repentance of Adam and Eve. Immediately following the hymn quoted above are two different theories of how the seasons of cold and heat came to affect the earth. "Some say" (X, 668) that the earth's poles were turned askance from the

sun's axle; on the other hand, "Som say" (l. 671) that the sun changed its course.

In the midst of this atmosphere of alternatives of Book X there is the soliloquy of Adam, often quoted as support for Milton's espousal in Paradise Lost of the mortalist heresy, in which he revolves the question, "How much of me dies with death? Body only, or both body and spirit?" Adam's statement, "All of me then shall die" (X, 792) does not settle the question. A few lines later he returns to his prior speculation that perhaps the spirit cannot die with the body.

But say
That Death be not one stroak, as I suppos'd,
Bereaving sense, but endless miserie
.
Ay me, that fear
Comes thundring back with dreadful revolution
On my defensless head.

(P. L., X, 808-10, 813-15)

Adam's struggle with the problem of death is not a mere dogmatic parallel to Milton's De Doctrina Christiana, as it has been supposed.¹⁴ It is a dramatically conceived and expressed presentation of the thoughts of a man caught up in one of the greatest of all

¹⁴Maurice Kelley (This Great Argument [Princeton, 1941], pp. 154-55) gives lines from Adam's soliloquy as parallels to the De Doctrina discussion of death as of the whole man, body and spirit; and, of course, there are close parallels. The point here is that the dramatic nature of the poem prevents any insistence that the meaning of parallel statements in it and the prose treatise are identical or that Milton intended to indoctrinate the readers of his poem with the theology of his treatise. See footnote 16 in Chapter One (p. 57) for a discussion of another instance in which Professor Kelley draws dogma from a dramatic situation.

mysteries, the mystery of death. Adam is in no position to dogmatize or settle theological matters; his is a human situation of dramatic power not unlike that of Hamlet in his "To be or not to be" soliloquy or Claudio, in Measure for Measure, contemplating what lies beyond death. Added to this, the atmosphere of alternatives developed in Book X, partly by means of Biblical allusion, works against the reader's getting any impression of a settled conviction on the part of Adam as to the nature of death.

Finally both Adam and Eve come freely to the place of accepting responsibility for their own sin; Adam can speak sincerely at the close of Book X of the atmospheric changes of the earth as "evils which our own misdeeds have wrought" (l. 1081). Returning to the same Biblical setting in which they were judged, the two voluntarily and humbly confess their faults and seek forgiveness, believing, as they remember the mild compassion with which he judged and clothed them in the cool of the evening, that God will "relent and turn / From his displeasure" (X, 1093-94).

Setting in Paradise Regained

Some of Milton's most beautiful descriptions of setting are in Paradise Regained. Such a passage as that describing the morning following the night-long howling storm to which Satan has subjected Christ is unsurpassed in Milton's poetry (P. R., IV, 426-38). There is very little use, however, of Biblical allusion in the establishment of setting in the shorter epic. The setting in the desert is, of course, taken from the Scriptural accounts of the temptation

(Matthew 4, Luke 4) and the effect of Christ's aloneness in the wilderness is strengthened by allusions to Biblical stories of others who suffered privation in the desert: Elijah (P. R., II, 266-69, 312-14 with I Kings 17:5-6, 19:5-7), Hagar (II, 308 with Genesis 25:13), and the whole race of Israel (II, 310-12 with Exodus 16:4, 14-15).

One instance in which Biblical allusion is used for both physical setting and psychological mood of a scene occurs in the opening of Book II. When the disciples of Christ miss him after his baptism, they begin to doubt "and doubted many days, / And as the days increas'd, increas'd thir doubt" (II, 11-12). Their lack of faith and near despair is emphasized by allusions to the time that Moses was "in the Mount, and missing long" (l. 14) when the people of Israel, through impatience and faithlessness, built a golden calf to worship (Exodus 32) and to the time when Elijah, having been caught up by God in a chariot of fire, was sought by the doubting sons of the prophets of Jericho (ll. 15-19 with II Kings 2:11-18). Then, after listing the names of the cities and towns in which the disciples searched for Jesus (names which call up in the Bible student's mind an image of the Jordan area of a map of Palestine), Milton describes the scene in which Andrew, Simon, and the others discuss the disappearance of the Messiah.

Then on the bank of Jordan, by a Creek:
Where winds with Reeds, and Osiers whisp'ring play
Plain Fishermen, no greater men them call,
Close in a cottage low together got

Thir unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.

(P. R., II, 25-29)

Both the physical and the psychological setting are drawn from the reprimand of Jesus to the people who had gone to Jordan to hear John the Baptist preach and had been disappointed in him and had not believed his message. Jesus asked, "What went yee out in the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?" (Matthew 11:7). Many of those who went to hear John preach did not expect him to be so uncompromising and firm in his message; they expected him to be as variable as the natural scenery of wind-blown reeds on the river bank. Consequently they were disappointed and did not believe. The disciples in Paradise Regained "on that high Authority had believ'd" (II, 5), but now that events have not gone as they expected, they have followed the example of the doubting prophets of Jericho in searching for their master, and they have gathered in the same or a similar scene (on the bank of the Jordan where wind-swayed reeds grow) as that in which they first believed John's proclamation that Jesus is the Son of God. Fortunately, as they recall how God has dealt with them thus far, their hope and faith conquer doubt and "they out of their plaints new hope resume" (II, 58).¹⁵

¹⁵With special reference to the psychological setting, it is interesting to note that a pattern of progression from doubt to hope is set here and is repeated with Mary, who begins with "O what avails me now" (II, 66) and ends with "I to wait with patience am inur'd" (1. 102); with Satan, who suggests to his council that he may be over-matched (11. 145-46) but ends with a confident "The rest commit to me" (1. 233); and even Christ begins with "Where will this end?" (1. 245) and ends with "I content me" (1. 257).

Biblical allusions are used in both epic poems to suggest physical setting and psychological mood; in Paradise Lost such allusions are used also to establish an atmosphere of alternative choices, both for the reader and for the human actors in the poem. The general effect of such use of Biblical allusion in both epics is to increase the reader's understanding of the significance of the drama taking place within the physical and psychological setting.

Action .

Milton's use of Biblical allusion for dramatic effect in connection with the action of the poems falls into three categories: the use of allusion to emphasize the significance of the present action, the use of allusion to foreshadow forthcoming action within the poem itself, and a use of allusion to place the action of the poem in the broader context of eternity and the inevitability of the ultimate victory of God over evil.

Emphasizing the Significance of the Present Action

After the fallen angels are roused up from the burning lake in Paradise Lost, Book I, the principal ones are described in terms of the names they are to be known by later, in Old Testament times, when they have led men to worship them, and some account is given of the particular blasphemy against the true God connected with the temples of each: Moloch led Solomon, through his wives, to build his idolatrous temple "right against the Temple of God" (I, 402); Peor led the men of Israel into adulterous relationship with the women of Moab and later had his temple reared near Moloch's, "lust

hard by hate" (I, 417), et cetera. Thus it is appropriate that Milton's description of the future anti-God activity of the devils to be adored for deities in their pagan temples be followed by a description of the present action of their building Pandaemonium in Hell with allusions associating it with the great Temple built for God in Jerusalem by Solomon. Mammon and his crew, having quickly discovered that there is gold in the hills of Hell, build in an hour what innumerable human hands could scarce perform in an age.

Anon out of the earth a Fabrick huge
 Rose like an Exhalation, with the sound
 Of Dulcet Symphonies and voices sweet,
 Built like a Temple.

(P. L., I, 710-713)

A comparison is made to the shrines of pagan gods built by Alcairo and Babylon "when AEgypt with Assyria strove / In wealth and luxurie" (ll. 721-22), but the circumstances of the building of Pandaemonium, coupled with the preceding emphasis on the future rivalry between the seats of these devils and the Seat of God in Jerusalem, cause the reader familiar with the Bible to make a comparison between this "ascending pile" and the construction of Solomon's Temple. There is no mention of music accompanying the building of the Temple at Jerusalem like that which accompanies the rise of Satan's palace, but the absence of any sounds signifying effort or labor -- "there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any toole of iron heard in the house, while it was in building" (I Kings 6:7) -- is notable in the construction of both temples. In Pandaemonium are "Doric pillars overlaid / With

Golden Architrave" and the roof is "fretted Gold" (I, 714-15, 717); the Temple in Jerusalem was "overlayd . . . within with pure gold" (I Kings 6:21) and the decorative carvings of the Temple were "covered with gold, fitted upon the carved worke" (I Kings 6:35). Such language, associating Pandaemonium (built by Heaven's fallen Architect even as Solomon's Temple incorporated features of heavenly architecture, since it followed the pattern God gave Moses of the tabernacle in the wilderness) with the Temple of God, intensifies at once the admiration one feels for the industry of the devils and the horror one feels at their blasphemy in not only building a palace like a temple for the Arch-Enemy but even building it with similarities to the Biblical Temple. The devils far surpass what the most dedicated and devoted men could do in building a temple for God; Solomon's Temple took seven years to build and, though built silently, involved a tremendous amount of labor, while Satan's palace rises to the sound of sweet music in an hour. The allusion to the Biblical Temple heightens, by contrast, the speed of construction and beauty of Pandaemonium and the amazing power and energy of the fallen angels as they engage in this dramatic action.

Upon the dissolution of the "Stygian Counsel" the leading demons issue forth from Pandaemonium with Satan in the midst in "God-like imitated State":

him round
A Globe of fierie Seraphim inclos'd
With bright imblazonrie, and horrent Arms.
Then of thir Session ended they bid cry
With Trumpets regal sound the great result:

Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubin
 Put to their mouths the sounding Alchymie
 By Haraldis voice explain'd: the hollow Abyss
 Heard far and wide.

(P. L., II, 511-519)

The magnificence of Satan's pomp, the angels, and the sounding of the trumpets recall Biblical language describing the second advent of Christ.

They shall see the Sonne of Man comming in the cloudes
 of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall
 send his Angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and
 they shall gather together his elect from the foure
 windes, from one ende of heaven to the other.

(Matthew 24:30b-31)

The parallelism between the pomp of Hell and that of Heaven is a device which raises Satan in splendor at the same time that it magnifies his blasphemous pride, for his departure from Pandaemonium to initiate the temptation which will lead to man's destruction is accompanied by trumpeting angels comparable to those who are to gather redeemed mankind together when the trumpet sounds at the end of time. There is a point of contrast which the allusion reveals; whereas the Biblical trumpet calls the elect together from the four winds, the demonic trumpets result in the dispersion of the demons into various parts of Hell to pursue various diversions as they await the return of their Chief.

Those of the dispersed fallen angels who are adventurous in nature set out to explore Hell and are identified, by Biblical allusion, with the unclean spirits who afflicted demoniacs in the New Testament, such as the one spoken of by Christ, who, when he has gone

out of a man, "walketh through drie places, seeking rest, and findeth none" (Matthew 12:43). Milton's roving bands

With shuddring horror pale, and eyes agast
View'd first thir lamentable lot, and found
No rest.

(P. L., II, 615-618)

As the devils wander "O're many a Frozen, many a Fierie Alpe, / Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of death," encountering "Gorgons and Hydra's, and Chimera's dire" (II, 621-22, 628), they return the reader to the horrifying realization of what Hell really is; such description, using both Biblical and classical allusions, brings one a long way from the marvelous Palace of Hell, "built like a Temple," the eloquent oratory of the devils, and the "God-like imitated State" of Satan and prepares one for the unspeakably ugly and monstrous offspring of Satan who are soon to confront their father at the gates of Hell. The beginning of the change from pomp and circumstance to the true hellishness of Hell is in the dramatic action of Satan's issuance from his palace and the Biblical allusion which contrasts the reception by all Hell of the plan to ruin mankind with Christ's gathering of his elect together at his return for the ultimate redemption of mankind.

Biblical allusion adds dramatic power to the action of the closing lines of Paradise Lost.

In either hand the hastning Angel caught
Our lingring Parents, and to th' Eastern Gate
Led them direct, and down the Cliff as fast
To the subjected Plaine; then disappeer'd.
They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld

Of Paradise, so late thir happie seat,
 Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
 With dreadful Faces throng'd and fierie Armes:
 Some natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon;
 The World was all before them, where to choose
 Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide;
 They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
 Through Eden took thir solitarie way.

(P. L., XII, 637-649)

There is amplified re-telling here, of course, of the expulsion scene in Genesis in which God "drove out the man; and he placed at the East of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keepe the way of the tree of life" (Genesis 3:24), but there is also allusion to the action, later in Genesis, of the deliverance by angels of Lot and his wife and daughters from the imminent destruction of Sodom.

And when the morning arose, then the Angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters . . . lest thou be consumed in the iniquitie of the citie. And while he lingred, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; the LORD being mercifull unto him: and they brought him foorth, and set him without the citie But his wife looked backe from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.

(Genesis 19:15-16, 26)

The similarities are immediately apparent to anyone familiar with the story of Lot, and recognition of the similarities leads to an awareness of the dissimilar elements in the action. Lot and his family are being delivered from the destruction of a wicked place because Lot is righteous; Adam and Eve are being driven from the Garden of Eden because they have sinned. Lot, his wife, and his

two daughters are commanded not to look back, for looking back would be the equivalent of identifying themselves with Sodom and of regretting the destruction of such a wicked place; Adam and Eve are not so commanded and they do look back, for the hope of regaining Paradise through the promised Seed has been held out to them as well as the prospect of possessing, through righteousness, a Paradise within themselves "happier farr." The backward look of Lot's wife brings petrification into salt for her; the backward look of Adam and Eve brings the dropping of "Som natural tears" for the loss of their "happie seat" but also a dependence upon guiding Providence. This dependence has been strengthened by the visions Michael has given Adam as well as by the dreams God has given Eve, whereby they have been shown the good that God will ultimately bring out of the evil of their sin and loss of Paradise. Therefore, although the action is associated with the Biblical emphasis on the expulsion from the Garden as a harsh, punitive, and depriving action by God, Milton has given overtones of hope to the scene by allusion to the story of Lot, who was not expelled as a punishment from God but was delivered through the mercy of God. The element of hope is heightened when the points of contrast between the two actions, that of the poem and that of the Bible story alluded to, are recognized. Thus, for the reader who knows the Bible, the closing action of Paradise Lost does not seem in sad contrast to the hopeful visions of a better world given by Michael; tears are dropped but they are soon wiped away, as Adam and Eve, hand in hand and with Providence

to guide them, face a world under the curse of their Fall but a world to be redeemed by the prophesied Seed of Eve.¹⁶

In the same action, the descending cherubim, "Gliding meteorous," are compared to the evening mist, rising from a river and gliding over the marshes as it "gathers ground fast at the Labourers heel / Homeward returning" (XII, 631-32). This simile helps give a view of the action which serves to mitigate the sadness of Adam's expulsion from the Garden; his activity has not changed much since he worked in the Garden, and now he is to labor to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. After all, he is returning home to the ground from whence he was taken before he was placed in Paradise. The image of the laborer returning home in the evening is not an unpleasant one. Yet it is indicative of the merging of sadness and hope throughout the closing action of Paradise Lost that this image has other connotations. It is part of Adam's curse to be a laborer until, as God said to him, "thou returne unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust

¹⁶One of Joseph Addison's criticisms of the fable of Paradise Lost was that it did not have a happy ending. He said, "Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endeavoured to cure it by several expedients, particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal spirits . . . and likewise by the vision wherein Adam . . . sees . . . himself restored to a happier Paradise." (Spectator paper No. 297 [Feb. 9, 1712], in Addison's Criticisms on Paradise Lost, ed. Albert S. Cook [New York, 1926], p. 35.) The Biblical allusions pointed out above do not make the ending happy, but they do constitute another expedient used by Milton, and used successfully, to avoid leaving the reader in a downcast and despondent mood at the end of the poem.

shalt thou returne" (Genesis 3:19). One sense, then, in which Adam is the laborer "Homeward returning" is that he is moving inevitably toward death and the grave in his native dust. Yet although the forces of judgment occupy the ground at his heel, the promised Seed will one day bring judgment upon the head of the one who will bruise his (the Seed's) heel, and by returning to the ground in death, he will conquer death and the grave as "the last Adam . . . made a quickening spirit" (I Corinthians 15:45).

In planning the action of Paradise Regained Milton did not have to decide what the limitations of the action would be, for the limits were set by the account of the temptation of Christ in the Gospels which were his sources. Apparently he felt, however, a necessity for making clear why certain kinds of temptation were not applied to Christ by the Tempter. To this end he made use of Biblical allusion in Satan's explanation to Belial and the other devils of why Christ was not tempted with women. After his unsuccessful attempt to get Christ to turn stones into bread, Satan returns to his domain in the air to discuss with his "Potentates in Council" the problem of how to bring about the downfall of Christ, a man to whom Adam was "inferior far," "Though Adam by his Wives allure-ment fell" (II, 134). Belial is the only devil who suggests a plan of attack:

Set women in his eye and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found;
.
Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,

And made him bow to the Gods of his Wives.

(P. R., II, 153-54, 169-71)

Satan has a quick answer for this suggestion: "But he whom we attempt is wiser far / Then Solomon" (II, 205-206). Belial's allusion is to the account in I Kings of Solomon's weakness for strange (i. e., foreign, pagan) women and his sin of building temples for the idolatrous worship of his wives (I Kings 11:1-4); the argument is, If Solomon, the wisest of men, was led astray by women, why not this man? Satan's answer alludes to the words of Christ to the Pharisees:

The queen of the south shall rise in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

(Matthew 12:42)

Satan's repudiation of Belial's suggestion provides a basis for limiting the temptation to "manlier objects . . . such as have more shew / Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise Or that which only seems to satisfie / Lawful desires of Nature, not beyond" (II, 225-27, 229-30). This decision made, Satan returns to the wilderness to proceed with the temptation. His going, not alone but in company with "a chosen band / Of Spirits likest to himself in guile" (II, 236-37), recalls the unclean spirit Jesus told of in the verses immediately following the reference to Solomon quoted above, who, having left his abode in a human being, returns to his house from whence he came out and "taketh with him selfe seven other spirits more wicked than himselfe" so that the "last state of that man is

worse than the first" (Matthew 12:43-45). Satan, having been repulsed in Book I, returns with reinforcements in Book II to launch a more elaborate program of temptation, and his course of action and the limits within which that action is to take place are set up with the aid of Biblical allusion. The allusions not only emphasize the significance of the present action but also foreshadow future action to take place within the poem. Milton's use of such foreshadowing allusions in connection with the action of both epics is the subject now to be considered.

Foreshadowing Future Action within the Poem

Important elements in the human action to take place on the earth are foreshadowed in the demonic action of Book I of Paradise Lost. In the roll call of the fallen angels, Milton uses the name of each as he is to be known later in the pagan worship of Canaan, and he refers to Biblical stories of the blasphemies connected with the worship of each. The part Solomon played in establishing these pagan deities in Jerusalem is alluded to three times during the roll call, and the high place which Solomon set aside for the temples of abomination, called in Scripture "the mount of corruption" (II Kings 23:13), is referred to as "that opprobrious Hill" (I, 403), "that Hill of scandal" (I, 416), and "th' offensive Mountain" (I, 443). Of Solomon himself, who, according to Scripture, was "wiser than all men" (I Kings 4:31) and yet was led astray by his wives, who "turned away his heart . . . after other gods" (I Kings 11:3-4), Milton says that Moloch led his "wisest heart . . . by fraud to

build / His Temple right against the Temple of God" (I, 402-403); and the Solomon who had the divine gift of "largeness of heart" (I Kings 4:29), Milton calls "that uxorious King, whose heart though large, / Beguil'd by fair Idolatresses, fell / To Idols foul" (I, 444-46). In Paradise Lost Solomon, quite anachronistically, becomes a type of Adam, foreshadowing Adam's fall. As Solomon, though the wisest of men, was led into sin by Satan, working by fraud through women, Adam falls and completes the sin original as a result of the fraud Satan perpetrates upon Eve, who then practices a similar fraud upon Adam (though he is not deceived). The reader is reminded of Solomon's uxoriousness and his "fair Idolatresses" when Michael shows Adam the "fair Atheists" who are to lead astray the sons of God and bring on the flood. Adam cries out that man's woe ever begins with woman, but Michael replies, "From Mans effeminate slackness it begins" (XI, 634). A more explicit allusion to Solomon at a crucial point in the poem is that found amidst the tragic notes of Book IX. The Garden of Eden is like that of "reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd / Alcinous, . . . Or that, not Mystic, where the Sapient King / Held dalliance with his faire Egyptian Spouse" (IX, 440, 442-43). The allusion to the garden in the Song of Solomon (6:2) and to Solomon's Egyptian bride (Song of Solomon 7:1; I Kings 3:1, 11:1) points backward to Book I and to the references made there to Solomon's part in the infiltration of pagan worship into Jerusalem, while it points forward to Adam's post-Fall dalliance with his spouse and his punning about "Sapience." The point being made here is that Solomon and his strange

wives have not suddenly entered the poem by way of an allusion in Book IX; such allusions have been made strongly and repeatedly in Book I to foreshadow the action of Book IX in which Adam, like Solomon, falls as a result of the fraud practiced upon Eve by Satan and the result of his love for his wife.

A striking example of the use of Biblical language to foreshadow future action within the poem is found in Book V. Satan has entered the Garden and caused Eve to dream of the smell and taste of the forbidden fruit; when she relates the dream to Adam next morning, he seeks to comfort her with the thought that if she so much abhors having dreamed of doing such a thing she surely will never consent to commit such an act awake. The conclusion of Adam's speech to Eve and her reaction involve Biblical overtones of foreshadowing.

Be not disheart'nd then, nor cloud those looks
That wont to be more chearful and serene
Then when fair Morning first smiles on the World,
And let us to our fresh employments rise
Among the Groves, the Fountains, and the Flours
That open now thir choicest bosom'd smells
Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.
So cheard he his fair Spouse, and she was cheard,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her haire.

(P. L., V, 122-131)

For the reader sensitive to Biblical allusion, there is powerful dramatic irony in Adam's assurance that the groves are opening their choicest delights, which they have "Reserv'd from night" and "kept . . . in store," for Eve. For one thing, night is associated with the Devil in the poem; it is his element, and the too-recent influence

that he has exerted upon Eve during the night is vividly remembered. But, more important, Adam's last words may well be an echo of a Biblical warning of the coming judgment upon the world because of sin.

But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of Judgement and perdition of ungodly men.

(II Peter 3:7)

There is one of the garden trees in particular the fruit of which is reserved and kept in store for Eve, and judgment upon all mankind as well as upon the heavens and the earth will be the result of her appetite's succumbing to its "choicest bosom'd smells." But just as Eve now sheds tears as a sign of "sweet remorse" for her dream, the remorse and repentance which she will eventually feel for the actual sin of eating the fruit is foreshadowed in the description of her wiping her tears with her hair. The action calls to mind the woman "which was a sinner" who came to Jesus and wiped the tears which she shed on his feet "with the haires of her head" (Luke 7:37-38). Of course, the whole matter of the Satanic dream, in addition to its function as a part of Milton's justification of the ways of God to men through its making occasion for the warning visit of Raphael, serves as a foreshadowing of the actual temptation and sin of Eve; but the Biblical allusions intensify the dramatic irony by giving ominous overtones of judgment upon a sinful world to Adam's ostensibly comforting words to Eve and by associating Eve with the repentant Magdalene.

As Raphael issues his final warning to Adam at the close of

Book VIII, his language is reminiscent of Scripture and foreshadows the way in which Adam will fall from innocence. Adam has admitted to Raphael that Eve is so beautiful and composed of so many winning graces that

Wisdom in discourse with her
Looses discount'nanc't, and like folly shewes;
Authoritie and Reason on her waite,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally.

(P. L., VIII, 552-556)

Upon hearing this, Raphael, "with contracted brow," warns Adam against "attributing overmuch to things / Less excellent" (ll. 565-66) and against mistaking passion for love. The angel's final charge is:

Be strong, live happie, and love, but first of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed least Passion sway
Thy Judgement to do aught, which else free Will
Would not admit.

.
stand fast; to stand or fall
Free in thine own Arbitrement it lies.
Perfet within, no outward aid require;
And all temptation to transgress repel.

(P. L., VIII, 633-37, 640-43)

There are allusions in Raphael's charge to God's exhortation to Joshua to "be strong" (Joshua 1:6) as he replaced Moses as the leader of Israel and to the New Testament principle that "the love of God [is] that we keep his commandements" (I John 5:3), but the allusion to Paul's commendation of one who "standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin" (I Corinthians 7: 37) is the allusion which furnishes a hint to the reader that in the

forthcoming action Adam will allow his passionate love for Eve to sway his judgment to eat the fruit which otherwise his free will would not have allowed. In Book IX, when Adam completes the "mortal Sin / Original" by eating the fruit, it is "Against his better knowledge, not deceav'd, / But fondly overcome with Femal charm" (IX, 998-99); he does not stand steadfast although he has "power over his own will" and is "Free in [his] own Arbitrement," but he feels such necessity that "he resolves through vehemence of love to perish with her" ("Argument," Book IX).¹⁷ He neglects to keep Raphael's charge to love God "first of all," and puts Eve first.

Biblical allusion is used in Paradise Regained as a means of foreshadowing action within this poem as well as in Paradise Lost. Of course, the fact that Christ is going to overcome Satan's

¹⁷E. M. W. Tillyard (Milton [London, 1946], p. 263) says of P. L., IX, 999, quoted above: "The last line is curiously inconsistent with what went before. Adam had made up his mind before Eve exercised her charm on him: her caresses were superfluous." In the total context of Book IX, however, "domestick Adam" (IX, 318) was "overcome with Femal charm" when he allowed Eve to work alone in the Garden that day. He was overcome with Eve's charm (both in the sense of her beauty and sexual attractiveness and in the sense of her speech ["charm" here may have the meaning of "charm" in IV, 642, 651], for he has admitted that "Wisdom in discourse with her . . . like folly shewes," VIII, 552-53) from the first day he ever saw her. Adam's deliberate decision to fall with Eve is based on his faulty view of her as "last and best / Of all Gods works" (IX, 896-97) in spite of Raphael's (and God's) insistence that he is the superior creature. It is this faulty view of woman that causes "effeminate slackness" in man, for it results in his neglect of "self-esteem, grounded on just and right / Well manag'd" (VIII, 572-73). Milton's statement that Adam was fondly overcome with female charm is perfectly consistent; although it may not be the immediate cause of his eating the fruit, it is the initial motivation for all his mistakes where Eve is concerned.

temptation is as sure to the reader of Paradise Regained as the fact that Adam will fall is to the reader of Paradise Lost; it is the progressive unfolding of the action and the particular treatment by the poet which makes the story dramatically interesting in spite of the outcome's being known from the first. That the Tempter will be completely "foil'd / In all his wiles, defeated and repuls't" is explicitly stated within the first few lines of Paradise Regained, but exactly how his defeat will be accomplished in Milton's imaginative portrayal is only gradually revealed. Frequent reference to the trials of Job, his patience in adversity and his refusal to turn against God though afflicted by evil, sets the quiet mood of the Son of God in his victory over Satan as well as indicating the pattern of verbal debate to be followed between Satan and Christ, a pattern similar to that followed between Job and his "friends" in the Bible. Milton has the Father himself first suggest the comparison between Satan's failure to corrupt Job and his failure in the temptation of Christ. Of Satan's forthcoming attempts, God says:

he might have learnt
 Less over-weening, since he fail'd in Job,
 Whose constant perseverance overcame
 Whate're his cruel malice could invent.

(P. R., I, 146-149)

In the Bible God gives as the reason for Job's patient perseverance, "he holdeth fast his integrity" (Job 2:3) and that is a good description of Christ's conduct in Milton's poem; he never lowers himself to Satan's level nor does he compromise on even the finer points of truth. James makes the New Testament comment on Job's trials:

Beholde, wee count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord: that the Lord is very pitifull, and of tender mercy.

(James 5:11)

Just as Satan failed in Job because Job persevered in his integrity, he will fail in Christ, for though Christ is made of "female Seed" he is "far abler to resist" (I, 151) Satan than Job was; and just as God, through his tender mercy, restored to Job in the end "twice as much as he had before" (Job 42:10), he will be tenderly solicitous of Christ's welfare after the arduous temptation in the wilderness is over. The initial mention of Job in Paradise Regained, then, serves to foreshadow the method of the temptations as being mostly verbal debate, the steadfastness and perseverance of Christ, and the loving care of the Father for his Son to be manifested in "the end of the Lord," when he sends angels to minister to Christ after the final temptation. Subsequent mention of Job in the poem, references such as those by Satan (I, 369 ff.) and by Christ (III, 92-95), reinforce the comparison and keep it before the reader's mind. The reference to Job by Satan emphasizes the worthiness of Job as proved by his time of trial (in spite of Satan's ulterior purpose in referring to Job), while the reference by Christ stresses Job's patience in bearing the burdens put upon him by Satan. The transference to Christ and the action of Paradise Regained is made by the reader whenever Job is referred to and would be made even if the earlier mention of Job by the Father had not been included. The initial

Into the Desert, and how there he slept
 Under a Juniper; then how awakt,
 He found his Supper on the coals prepar'd,
 And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
 And eat the second time after repose,
 The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days;
 Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
 Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.

(P. R., II, 266-278)

When the reader remembers that Elijah's stedfast integrity and uncompromising stand for righteousness in the face of Ahab and Jezebel caused him to choose rather to be fed by ravens in the desert than to enjoy the feasts of a king's court and that Daniel's refusal to defile himself with the unclean meats and wine of the King of Babylon led him to prefer pulse (a kind of grain cereal), he expects Christ to do just what he does: maintain his integrity by refusing the food offered by Satan and by waiting patiently for whatever his Father will provide. To Satan's question, "Tell me if Food were now before thee set, / Would'st thou not eat?" (II, 320-21), Christ replies, "Thereafter as I like / The giver" (II, 321-22). The answer of Jesus at once points to the real significance of the Biblical stories alluded to: divine aid came to those in the Bible as they had need when their position in the wilderness or in captivity and, consequently, their need were a result of their rejection of the wrong kind of giver. Israel fled from Egypt to escape slavery and idolatry. Elijah fled to Cherith and ate raven's food rather than soften his message to win the favor of Ahab, and later he wandered the wilderness for forty days sustained on two meals rather

than curry favor with Jezebel by forsaking God to worship Baal. But the allusion which perhaps carries most weight is that to Daniel. Christ's answer that he will eat only what comes from an acceptable giver follows his dream in which he ate "as a guest with Daniel at his pulse" and it anticipates Satan's attempt to persuade Christ that his situation is different from Daniel's. Satan says,

Nor mention I
Meats by the Law unclean, or offer'd first
To Idols, those young Daniel could refuse;
Not proffer'd by an Enemy, though who
Would scruple that, with want oppress?

(P. R., II, 327-331)

But Daniel's refusal of "the portion of the kings meat [and] the wine which he dranke" (Daniel 1:8) was not made on the grounds that the meat was proscribed by the Law nor on the grounds that it had been previously offered to idols; although he purposed "in his heart that he would not defile him selfe" (Daniel 1:8), the inference that his purpose was because of the meat and wine being the king's -- the gift of the conqueror of Jerusalem and the desecrater of the Temple -- is more readily drawn from Scripture than any inference that Daniel's rejection was because of dietary restrictions. The Biblical allusions in the feast temptation, particularly the allusion to Daniel, enforce Christ's contention that the real test of the acceptability of a gift is the giver, which opposes Satan's plea of expediency (that the satisfaction of a need is more important than whether or not the fulfillment of it is offered by an enemy). Also the allusion to Daniel, who, after ten days on pulse, "appeared fairer

and fatter in flesh, then all the children, which did eat the portion of the kings meat" (Daniel 1:15), foreshadows the final "Heavenly Feast" by which Christ, having defeated Satan and having refused any gifts from the wrong giver, is refreshed and strengthened as though he had never undergone the days of privation and hunger in the wilderness.

Foreshadowing God's Ultimate Victory

In addition to the use of Biblical allusion to emphasize and point up the present action and to foreshadow future action within the poems, Milton uses references to Scripture in both epics to foreshadow God's ultimate victory over Satan and evil. Of course, there are explicit statements of that coming victory in both poems, especially in Paradise Lost, where Books XI and XII are largely devoted to Michael's foreview of God's overruling grace in the affairs of men, culminating in the new heavens and new earth. But in addition to these explicit statements, there are many Biblical allusions, even in passages where Satan appears to have the upper hand, the dramatic effect of which is to imply the inevitable consummation of the conflict between good and evil to be a victory for God.

In Book I of Paradise Lost, even before Milton's explicit statement of the futility of Satan's efforts against God and good, Biblical allusions in Satan's speech foreshadow God's defeat of the Devil and his bringing of good out of evil. Milton states that Satan would never have been able to rise or heave his head above the burning lake of Hell had not

the will

And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
 Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
 On Man by him seduc't, but on himself
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.

(P. L., I, 211-220)

Earlier in the action, when Satan boasts,

That Glory never shall his wrath or might
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
 With suppliant knee, and deifie his power
 Who from the terror of this Arm so late
 Doubted his Empire, that were low indeed,
 That were an ignominy and shame beneath
 This downfall,

(P. L., I, 110-116)

he is eloquent in his scorn, but his words have an ironic ring for
 one familiar with God's statement through the prophet Isaiah.

I am God, and there is none else. I have sworne by
 my selfe; the word is gone out of my mouth in right-
 eousnesse, and shall not returne, that unto mee every
 knee shall bow, every tongue shall sweare.

(Isaiah 45:22b-23)

And the New Testament application of this divine oath adds to the
 irony, including as it does all things in the universe and specifying
 that the kneeling will be to the Son for the glory of the Father.

Paul speaks of the exaltation of Jesus Christ by the Father so that

at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things
 in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the
 earth; And that every tongue should confess that Jesus
 Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

(Philippians 2:10-11)

Similarly, Satan's boast,

If then his Providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil,

(P. L., I, 162-165)

brings to mind Paul's assurance that "all things worke together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose" (Romans 8:28) as well as the apostle's confident statement, "the Lord shall deliver mee from every evill worke, and will preserve mee unto his heavenly kingdom" (II Timothy 4:18). Thus while Satan boasts his words carry allusions to Scriptures assuring the triumph of God and good over evil. When Satan says, however, of his attempts to find means of evil out of God's good that he "oft times may succeed, so as perhaps / Shall grieve him . . . and disturb / His inmost counsels from their destined aim" (I, 166-68), he speaks truth in one breath and falsehood in the next. The sins into which Satan led the antediluvian civilization "grieved [God] at his heart" (Genesis 6:6) as did many of the sins of the Israelites; but so far is his sin from ever disturbing God's inmost counsels from their aim that the Christians of the early church, in praying to God, could speak of the slayers of Jesus as those who were gathered together "to do whatsoever thy hand and counsel determined before to be done" (Acts 4:28). Thus Satan's opening statements in the epic of what he will and will not do are contradicted by the Biblical associations his language calls up, and the future supremacy

of God and subjection of Satan are forecast even in Satan's proud speeches to the contrary.

When Milton, with the aid of his Muse, calls the roll of the principal devils in Hell, he alludes to Biblical stories of the defeat of the pagan deities, and such allusions reinforce the allusions already mentioned in their foreshadowing of God's future victory over Satan; if God can defeat Moloch, Peor, Dagon, etc., he can and he will in his own good time defeat the Prince of these devils. Although the devils are successful in establishing their "Seats . . . next the Seat of God, / Their Altars by his Altar" (I, 383-84) through the weakness of kings like Solomon and Ahaz, God raises up kings like "good Josiah" to drive them down to Hell again (I, 418; II Kings 23:13-14), sometimes intervenes supernaturally as when that which symbolized his presence and glory, "the Captive Ark," maimed and shamed Dagon before his worshippers (I, 458-61; I Samuel 5:2-4), and sometimes uses a prophet to work a miracle as when Naaman was cleansed of his leprosy and turned from the worship of Rimmon to that of Jehovah (I, 467-71; II Kings 5: 12-18). The mention of the final plague upon Egypt, in which Jehovah "equal'd with one stroke / Both Egypt's first born and all her bleating Gods" (I, 487-89; Exodus 12:12, 29), and of the followers of Belial in Eli's family and in Sodom (I, 495-96, 503; I Samuel 2:12-17, Genesis 19) remind the reader that the God of the Old Testament brought swift and terrible judgment upon both the pagan deities worshipped and the sins of the worshippers

whenever he chose to do so.

In the light of the Biblical allusions included, therefore, Book I of Paradise Lost is not an eloquent poetic glorification of the independent and revolutionary spirit of Satan and his cohorts. Aside from Milton's comments, which should give the reader plenty of clues as to how he is to interpret Satan's character and speeches (for example, Satan "with high words, that bore / Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd / Their faintest courage," I, 528-30), there are in the midst of Satan's proud utterances and shot through the pomp and ceremony of the hellish procession of demonic dignitaries Biblical allusions which foreshadow the futility of Satan's endeavours and the inevitability of God's final victory over him.

Nor are such allusions restricted to Book I or to Satan's speeches. The last and most effective oration by a fallen angel in Book II of Paradise Lost is that by Beelzebub. Moloch has counselled open, desperate war as a matter of revenge, win or lose. Belial has answered him with a plea for peace on the grounds that perhaps God will eventually ease the torments of Hell if the devils behave themselves. Then Mammon has won assent from the assembly by his suggestion that the devils seek to acclimatize themselves to Hell and develop the natural resources found therein. Beelzebub now rises to speak as a front man for Satan and to propose the plan at which Satan hinted in Book I: that the evil powers seek to corrupt the new world which God is creating for his new creature, man. Beelzebub's main purpose is to convince the devils that they cannot

hope to be left alone in Hell for peaceful self-development; they must take the initiative and seek a way out, and the best way out seems to be by invasion of the newly created world. The assembly unanimously agrees that his proposal is better than to "sit in darkness here / Hatching vain Empires" (II, 377-78). But during the course of his speech, Beelzebub out-argues himself without realizing it; his persuasive argument that the devils cannot hope for peaceful self-development in Hell is:

For he, be sure,
In highth or depth, still first and last will Reign
Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.

(P. L., II, 323-328)

Beelzebub's argument holds true for Hell, but it also holds true for the new world to be invaded; allusions in his speech to the words of the risen Christ, "the first and the last" (Revelation 1:11a, 22:13), who shall reign as the "onely Potentate, the king of kings and Lord of Lords" (I Timothy 6:15), to the prophecies of the Messianic psalms, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre" (Psalm 45:6) and "Thou shalt breake them with a rod of yron" (Psalm 2:9), and to the words of the Apocalypse concerning Christ, "He shall rule them with a rod of yron" (Revelation 19:15) all point forward to the time when Christ, the Son of God, shall defeat Satan and the armies of Anti-Christ and establish his eternal and universal reign of righteousness.

At the close of Book III and the opening of Book IV, Milton establishes an explicit connection between the action of Paradise Lost and the final defeat of Satan as described in Revelation. Having escaped from Hell and pushed his way through Chaos, Satan is now within the created universe approaching the sun. There he sees "a glorious Angel stand, / The same whom John saw also in the Sun" (III, 622-23) and asks directions to Paradise, "His journies end and our beginning woe" (III, 632-33). There is a poetic appropriateness in having Satan directed to Eden by Uriel and in identifying Uriel with the angel John saw, for the angel in Revelation is announcing the final defeat of the Satanically inspired Anti-Christ and his armies at the coming of Christ in power and glory.

And I saw an Angel standing in the Sunne, and he cryed
with a loud voice, saying to all the foules that flie
in the midst of the heaven, Come and gather yourselves
together unto the supper of the great God.

(Revelation 19:17)

Uriel, an unwitting agent in Satan's entry into the world, will, in Milton's scheme, have the privilege of announcing the destruction of Satan's power over the earth when Anti-Christ is defeated at Armageddon, and the allusion to Revelation foreshadows the ultimate defeat of those forces of evil which Satan is now going to Paradise to loose in the heart of man. Reference is made again to the angel of Revelation in the prayer which opens Book IV.

O for that warning voice, which he who saw
Th' Apocalypse, heard cry in Heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,

No to the inhabitants on Earth ! that now
 While time was, our first Parents had bin warnd
 The coming of thir secret foe, and scap'd
 Haply so scap'd his mortal snare; for now
Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,
 The Tempter ere th' Accuser of man-kind,
 To wreck on innocent frail man his loss
 Of that first Battel, and his flight to Hell.

(P. L., IV, 1-12)

The passage in Revelation to which Milton refers includes a warning voice which is uttered in a context forecasting the victory of God and the speedy end of the Devil's power.

And I heard a loud voyce saying in heaven, Now is
 come salvation, & strength, and the kingdome of our
 God and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of
 our brethren is cast down, which accused them before
 our God day and night Therefore rejoyce, ye
 heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the in-
 habitants of the earth and of the sea: for the devell
 is come downe unto you, having great wrath, because
 hee knoweth that hee hath but a short time.

(Revelation 12:10-12)

The passage in the epic with its Biblical allusion serves to foreshadow the angelic warning which is given to "our first Parents" later when Raphael visits Paradise, but it also points forward to the future battle which will result in Satan's being cast out as the accuser and, consequently, his utter defeat and the beginning of the eternal kingdom of God.

Biblical texts alluded to in Milton's image of God's "golden Scales," libra of the zodiacal constellations, at the close of Book IV, emphasize God's control of the present situation and Satan's recognition of that control, but they also point forward to the ultimate destruction of Satan, the celestial sign practically becoming

a permanent symbol of God's power over him. As Satan stands ready, "Like Teneriff or Atlas," to combat Gabriel's whole squadron of angels, God intervenes with a heavenly sign.

Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
 Hung forth in Heav'n his golden Scales, yet seen
 Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion signe,
 Wherein all things created first he weighd,
 The pendulous round Earth with ballanc't Aire
 In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
 Battels and Realms: in these he put two weights
 The sequel each of parting and of fight;
 The latter quick up flew, and kickt the beam;
 Which Gabriel spying, thus bespake the Fiend.
Satan, I know thy strength, and thou knowst mine,
 Neither our own but giv'n; what follie then
 To boast what Arms can doe, since thine no more
 Than Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubl'd now
 To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,
 And read thy Lot in yon celestial Sign
 Where thou art weigh'd, & shown how light, how weak,
 If thou resist. The Fiend lookt up and knew
 His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
 Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night.

(P. L., IV, 996-1015)

Milton has taken the Scriptural statements that God "hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountaines in scales, and the hills in a balance" (Isaiah 40:12), has made the "weight for the winds, and . . . weigheth the waters by measure" (Job 28:25), and knows "the balancings of the cloudes" (Job 37:16) as authority for his image of the golden scales. In addition, Milton has identified these scales with the constellation Libra, still to be seen in the heavens between Astrea (Virgo) and Scorpio; thus the sign of Libra becomes symbolic of God's power

as Creator. But it is symbolic of more. God did, in the creation, weigh the "things created," but now he "ponders all events, / Battles and Realms," as Hannah said in her Biblical prayer: "the LORD is a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed" (I Samuel 2: 3). There is a further significance in the light of Biblical allusion. Satan, like Belshazzar, has been "weighed in the balances, and . . . found wanting" (Daniel 5:27); he is light and weak when compared to the power of God, and, like Belshazzar, he is given a sign which forecasts the futility of fighting now and the certainty of ultimate defeat.

That the "celestial Sign" foreshadows his ultimate defeat, Satan would hardly admit, but the point is clear to the reader that if God can so order the outcome of one encounter, he can determine the ultimate outcome of all encounters between good and evil. Milton has, within the framework of his epic, made the sign of Libra a heavenly symbol similar to the Scriptural rainbow (Genesis 9:12-16); as the rainbow signifies God's promise never again to destroy all terrestrial life by water, the constellation of the "golden Scales" signifies God's power as Creator, his power of deciding the outcome of the actions of his creatures, and, by extension from the present action of Book IV, his power to defeat Satan whenever it is his will to do so.

At the close of Book X in Paradise Lost, when Adam and Eve have begun to realize their individual responsibility in their sin instead of accusing one another, they consider death as a way out of their misery; Eve further suggests childlessness. But Adam recalls

part of what was said by their Judge to Eve: "That thy Seed shall bruise / The Serpents head" (X, 1031-32). Although Adam does not yet fully realize the prophetic implications of the statement, it is an explicit foreshadowing of the coming Messiah for the reader. There is implicit foreshadowing also, however, in the language Adam uses in trying to bring Eve to see that their judgment is not so harsh after all. We had expected to die immediately, he says, but

10, to thee
Pains onely in Child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth, soon recompenc't with joy,
Fruit of thy Womb.

(P. L., X, 1050-53)

The joy in the child that follows for a woman after the sorrows of childbirth is used as a parabolic figure in the Bible; for example, Jesus, speaking of his coming death and resurrection to his disciples, said:

A woman, when she is in travaile hath sorrow, because
her houre is come: but assoon as she is delivered of
the child, she remembreth no more the anguish, for joy
that a man is borne into the world.

(John 16:21) .

Adam's words of comfort and hope reach beyond their temporary significance to Eve and suggest the joy to be brought into the world through the fruit of the womb of the Virgin Mary, "Second Eve" (V, 387 with Luke 1:42, 2:10-11), and even further into the future, to the joy of believers in the resurrection of Christ from the dead, the special event which Jesus is prophesying by means of the childbirth analogy in the passage from John being alluded to. The kind of sweeping fore-

view of events to be given by Michael in Books XI and XII is preceded by this kind of allusive hint at the future outcome of the Fall, a kind of foreshadowing that would be responded to by any reader familiar with the Bible.

In Paradise Regained, as well as in the longer epic, there are both explicit references to the future victory of God over Satan and foreshadowings which are implicit in Biblical allusions. In the first book of Paradise Regained the fact that Satan will be utterly defeated in his efforts to tempt Christ is stated within the first seven lines, and Satan himself speaks of his own

dread attending when that fatal wound
Shall be inflicted by the Seed of Eve
Upon my head,

(P. R., I, 53-55)

thus making it clear that even he does not deceive himself about the final outcome of his struggle against God. Yet he still seeks to do all he can to thwart God's purposes.

Seeking to tempt Christ to run ahead of the slow development of God's purposes and to begin to reign on the throne of David without delay, Satan says, "The happier reign the sooner it begins, / Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?" (P. R., III, 179-80). Christ answers with a Biblical phrase, "All things are best fullfil'd in their due time" (III, 182; Romans 5:6). Then, after suggesting the sufferings he is to undergo as "just tryal e're I merit / My exaltation" (III, 196-97), Christ asks Satan,

But what concerns it thee when I begin

My everlasting Kingdom, why art thou
 Sollicitous, what moves thy inquisition?
 Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
 And my promotion will be thy destruction?

(P. R., III, 198-202)

Satan replies with what seems at first a counsel of despair (like Moloch's in Paradise Lost): if there is worse to suffer he wants it to come as soon as possible. "Worst is my Port," he says (III, 209).

My error was my error, and my crime
 My crime; whatever for it self condemn'd,
 And will alike be punish'd; whether thou
 Raign or raign not.

(P. R., III, 212-215)

Christ's words quoted above (III, 198-202) emphasize the fact that, as the Bible presents future events, his reign and Satan's ultimate defeat are inextricably bound up together. Satan's words deny this fact, but even his denial recalls the promise that in his reign, Christ will "put downe all rule, and all authoritie & power; for he must reigne, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet" (I Corinthians 15:24-25). Satan quickly shifts his argument to try to make it appear that he desires to see Christ reign because he has a hope that "that gentle brow," "that placid aspect and meek regard," would shield him from God the Father's wrath; actually, as Satan knows, Christ reigning in glory will be quite different from Christ the suffering Son of Man, and that wrath which shall cause men to call upon the mountains to fall upon them in the Day of Judgment shall be "the wrath of the Lambe" (Revelation 6:16). Satan's

real purpose in seeking to tempt Christ to take up his reign prematurely is to cause Christ to disobey the Father by impatient and impulsive action; not only does Satan fail in this, but his own lies are in language which recalls the Biblical prophecies of his destruction being directly connected with Christ's return to the earth and reign on David's throne.

Satan constantly seeks, in Paradise Regained, to arouse doubt in Christ's mind that he is the Son of God in any special sense; this is the reason for Satan's allusions to the Biblical reference to angels as "gods" and "children of the most High" (Psalm 82:6) and to Satan himself as "god of this world" (II Corinthians 4:4; P. R., IV, 196-203). The term "Son of God," the Devil argues, bears no single meaning;

The Son of God I also am, or was,
And if I was, I am; relation stands;
All men are Sons of God.

(P. R., IV, 517-520)

But the Old Testament Scripture alluded to (a text repeated in the New Testament in John 10:34) does not give assurance that "relation stands."

I have said, Ye are gods: and all of you are children
of the most High: But ye shall die like men, and
fall like one of the Princes.

(Psalm 82:6)

It is immediately after this allusion that Satan takes Christ to the pinnacle of the Temple "to know what more thou art then man, / Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heav'n" (IV, 538-39). Christ

stands as proof of his divine Sonship, while Satan, "smitten with amazement," falls. That the prince of the power of the air is defeated at his own game and in his own element suggests his ultimate defeat, a suggestion which is made more explicit by the elect angels and emphasized by further Biblical allusion at the close of the poem.

The circumstances of Satan's defeat in the final book of Paradise Regained are emphasized by comparison to Antaeus, who "Thrott'l'd at length in the Air, expir'd and fell" (IV, 568); Satan's fall is much more remarkable than that of Antaeus, for the latter fell through being out of touch with the earth and thus out of the element which gave him strength, while Satan is alluded to many times in both Milton's epics as the "prince of the power of the air" (Ephesians 2:2), a Biblical phrase, and would be expected to hold his own in the air if anywhere (obviously, that is what he expected). But this defeat is only the beginning. The direct statement of the hymn of the angels is that this defeat of Satan on the Temple prefigures an even greater future defeat.

But thou, Infernal Serpent, shalt not long
Rule in the Clouds: like an Autumnal Star
Or Lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n trod down
Under his feet: for proof, e're this thou feel'st
Thy wound, yet not thy last and deadliest wound.

(P. R., IV, 618-622)

The final allusion of the angels is to the casting out of devils to take place during Christ's preaching ministry, and it is made a foreview of his ultimate victory over Satan. The angels sing:

Hereafter learn with awe
 To dread the Son of God: he all unarm'd
 Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice
 From thy Demoniack holds, possession foul,
 Thee and thy Legions, yelling they shall flye,
 And beg to hide them in a herd of Swine,
 Lest he command them down into the deep
 Bound, and to torment sent before thir time.
 Hail Son of the most High, heir of both worlds,
 Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work
 Now enter, and begin to save mankind.

(L. R., IV, 625-635)

The defeat of Satan in the temptation has proved to the devils once
 and for all that Christ is the Son of God; that is why they fear him.
 Those demons who possessed the two men who dwelt in the tombs cried
 out to Jesus, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Sonne of God?
 Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" (Matthew 8:29).
 This striking example of Christ's power over the devils is made a
 Scriptural foreview of his future victory over evil when all evil
 ones shall be sent to torment in the lake of fire (Revelation 20:15).
 There may be doubt among men on earth as to the outcome of the war
 between good and evil, but Milton's point is that neither Heaven nor
 Hell has any doubt of God's victory, a victory to be gained through
 the "greater Man." All Hell rues Satan's attempt on Christ, for it
 has made clear the inevitability of Christ's victory. The elect
 angels hail Christ, by anticipation, as "Queller of Satan" and "Vic-
 tor." Among men only is Christ "unobserv'd" for what he really is
 as he returns privately to his mother's house.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DRAMATIC EFFECTIVENESS OF BIBLICAL ALLUSION (II):

LANGUAGE AND CHARACTER

In addition to Milton's artistic handling of Biblical allusion as a means of establishing setting and of forwarding and foreshadowing action, there is evident in his epic poems the use of the Bible to add dramatic force to language and to add dimensions to the characterization of the chief actors.

Language

Certain dramatic effects are gained in both Milton's epics by the use of language which suggests a Biblical incident or statement. The language used sometimes suggests a situation in Scripture which is similar to the one being portrayed in the poem, thus adding depth and a background of Biblical connotation to the dramatic situation in the poem; sometimes the Biblical language used suggests the context within the Bible of the language, thus adding ironic or other dramatic effects; sometimes the purpose of the Scriptural language is completely reversed from its purpose as it is used in the Bible. Since the whole of both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained is permeated by Biblical language and since, once the reader is aware of the extra dimension often added by Biblical allusion, an abundance of examples of the uses mentioned above may be found throughout the poems, the passages discussed here will be limited to only a few.

Language Suggestive of a Similar Situation in the Bible

When the Son of God rides forth on the third day of the war in Heaven to rout, single-handed, the hosts of Satan, he says to the armies of elect angels:

Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battel rest;
Faithful hath been your Warfare, and of God
Accepted,

.

but of this cursed crew
The punishment to other hand belongs,
Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints;
Number to this dayes work is not ordain'd
Nor multitude, stand onely and behold
Gods indignation on these Godless pourd
By mee.

(P. L., VI, 801-804, 806-12)

The imperatives "Stand still" and "stand onely" recall the command of Moses to the Israelites when they were caught between the pursuing armies of Pharaoh and the impassable waters of the Red Sea.

Feare ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of
the LORD, which hee will shew you to day: for the
Egyptians whom ye have seene today, yee shall see them
againe no more for ever. The LORD shall fight for you,
and ye shall hold your peace.

(Exodus 14:13-14)

The similarity between Satan and his followers and Pharaoh and the Egyptians has already been suggested by Milton's comment on the obdurate perverseness of the wicked who will not repent even in the face of such miraculous wonders as the Son's restoration of the uprooted hills and gutted valleys of Heaven to their original position and beauty.

But to convince the proud what Signs avail,
 Or Wonders move th' obdurate to relent?
 They hard'nd more by what might most reclame,
 Grieving to see his Glorie, at the sight
 Took envie.

(P. L., VI, 789-793)

As God's signs and wonders by Moses in Egypt served only to harden the heart of Pharaoh (Exodus 7-14), the power of God through the Son in Raphael's account serves only to harden and make envious Satan and his angels. As the elect angels stand still to see the victory of the Son over his enemies, Messiah drives the fallen angels to the "Chrystal wall of Heav'n, which op'ning wide," rolls inward and discloses a "spacious Gap" through which the rebels throw themselves headlong into the "wastful Deep."

Disburd'nd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repaired
 Her mural breach, returning whence it rowld.

(P. L., VI, 878-879)

The destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts took place when the waters which had rolled back to allow the Israelites to cross the Red Sea on dry land were caused by God's power to close again upon the pursuing Egyptians (Exodus 14:26-28). The situations are not exactly parallel, but they are similar enough to support the idea that the language of Messiah ("Stand still") is intended to recall the occasion when God overthrew the enemies of his chosen people through his agent Moses as he here casts the rebel angels out of Heaven through the agency of the Son. The Biblical allusion magnifies the Father through whose power the victory is effected, and the

mighty figure of the Son in single fight against Satan's armies provides a dramatic illustration of another Biblical text alluded to in his speech: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord" (Romans 12:19; P. L., VI, 308).

Raphael uses an imperative expression in his parting admonition to Adam which recalls a similar situation in the Bible and emphasizes the very aspect of Adam's responsibility under God in which he is to fail in the crucial Book IX. Raphael exhorts Adam:

Be strong, live happie, and love, but first of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed least Passion sway
Thy Judgement to do aught, which else free Will
Would not admit.

(P. L., VIII, 623-637)

After the death of Moses, God chose Joshua to lead the Israelites across Jordan and into the Promised Land; the exhortation from God to Joshua, repeated three times in the commission given him, is "Be strong, and of a good courage" (Joshua 1:6, 7, 9). Although other responsibilities of Joshua are mentioned in Scripture, most emphasis is placed upon the necessity of his keeping "all the Law, which Moses my servant commanded" (Joshua 1:7). In Paradise Lost a like emphasis is put upon the necessity for Adam to be obedient to God's command, but Raphael stresses the additional New Testament principle that obedience to God is the result of loving God and that God should be loved first of all, alluding to: "For this is the love of God, that wee keepe his commandements, and his commande-

ments are not grievous" (I John 5:3).¹ Adam has been telling Raphael of his love for Eve and has even been asking Raphael about the love-life of angelic beings; hence Raphael's exhortation "live happy, and love" -- but, because Adam has admitted to having his wisdom, authority, and reason sometimes overpowered by his love for Eve, Raphael's main reason for the command "Be strong" is that Adam must remember his position of authority and his responsibility to put God first. Joshua's commission was one of authority over Israel, an authority under God from which there was no appeal, hence his special need of strength; Adam's commission and need are similar. It is Adam's breakdown in the maintenance of his authority over Eve and his allowing her to work in the Garden alone that is the first step in a series of events leading to his own disobedience and consequent woe to all his sons.

An example of the use of Biblical language to suggest a Biblical situation occurs in Paradise Regained when Satan first appears to Christ. Disguised as an aged man in rural weeds, he seeks to tempt Christ to turn stones into bread by urging both Christ's own need and the need of others who live in the desert. We "Who dwell this wild," says Satan, are

Men to much misery and hardship born;
But if thou be the Son of God, Command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread;

¹Cf. II Tim. 2:1 and Ephes. 6:10 ff., Scriptures in which Paul exhorts Christians to be strong in the face of temptation, the latter following a discussion of the need for husbands to love their wives and also to have them in subjection (Ephes. 5:23 ff.).

So shalt thou save thy self and us relieve
With Food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.

(P. R., I, 341-345)

This particular temptation is based on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (4:3 in both), but Satan's language recalls from the Bible a similar test put before Christ the performance of which would prove his divine Sonship. Satan is pleading two reasons why Christ should turn the stones into bread (in addition to the implied reason that Christ should prove his divinity): that Christ may save himself from starvation and that he may relieve the hunger of the poor unfortunate residents of the wilderness. The latter reason is not even implied in Scripture, and it is the result, of course, of a false show of charitable piety on the part of Satan. The language, however, associates this dramatic situation with Luke's account of the crucifixion in which one of the thieves crucified beside Christ "railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thy selfe and us" (Luke 23:39). As the thief's raillery revealed his basically unrepentant and selfish attitude (there is no hint in Scripture that he is conscious of suffering the just recompense of his deeds, though the repentant thief says that they both are so suffering, and he is interested primarily in his own deliverance and that of his partner in crime, as is shown by his mocking tone) so Satan's attempt to appear interested in Christ's welfare is in language which suggests that his main concern is seeing what tricks he can get Christ to perform and that his plea for relief for the "wretched" is hypocritical mockery (akin to that of Judas Iscariot in John 12:3-6).

Recognition of the analogue to the thief's language magnifies the Devil's culpability here; whereas the thief's "if thou be" test sprang from his despair and disbelief, Satan's "if thou be" springs from a desire to implant distrust and doubt in the heart of Jesus. Christ asks, "Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, / Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?" (P. R., I, 355-56).

Language Suggestive of the Biblical Context

An effect of dramatic irony is achieved through the use of Biblical language the context of which, within Scripture, carries connotations different from, at times even the opposite of, those suggested by the speaker whose speech includes the Biblical allusion. In Paradise Lost, Book I, Satan, having reared himself from the lake of fire, says to Beelzebub,

But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
Th' associates and copartners of our loss
Lye thus astonisht on th' oblivious Pool,
And call them not to share with us their part
In this unhappy Mansion [?]

(P. L., I, 264-268)

As he leaves on his mission to the new world, Satan refers again to "this ill Mansion" (II, 462), and Uriel uses unwitting irony in referring to Satan's desire to see God's works which has led him to leave his "Empyrean Mansion" (III, 699). The use of "Mansion" may allude to Christ's words of comfort to his disciples, "In my Fathers house are many mansions I goe to prepare a place for you" (John 14:2). When one remembers Milton's earlier description of Hell as the "place Eternal Justice had prepar'd" for the

rebellious spirits (I, 70), the ironic truth that Hell is one of the Father's mansions, though an unhappy one, comes with a force to the reader that Satan does not intend.² Further, his reference to his "copartners" and "their part / In this unhappy Mansion" suggests one of the final curses of the Bible:

But the fearefull, and unbeleeving, and the abominable,
and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and
idolaters, and all lyars, shall have their part in the
lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.

(Revelation 21:8)

This is an apt description of Satan's "faithful friends" who have followed him in his iniquitous revolt, and though he and his "copartners" are soon to invade the new world, the reader has the assurance of the Scriptures that the Devil and all his followers will eventually bear "their part" in the fiery regions "for ever and ever" (Revelation 20:10).

When Satan appears before the throne of Chaos and pleads that his only purpose in passing through the realm of Chaos towards the new world is "once more / [to] Erect the Standerd there of ancient Night" (P. L., II, 986), the "Anarch old" answers:

I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late

²The Son of God uses the phrase "prepar'd ill Mansion" with ironic allusion to the Biblical promise of Christ to prepare a mansion for faithful disciples (John 14:2) when he says to the Father that he will soon "rid heav'n of these rebell'd, / To thir prepar'd ill Mansion driven down / To chains of Darkness, and th' undying Worm" (P. L., VI, 736-39).

Made head against Heav'ns King, though overthrown.

(P. L., II, 990-992)

The identification of Satan by Chaos makes use of the same words as the identification of Jesus by the demons who possessed the man at Capernaum:

Let us alone, what have wee to doe with thee, thou
Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us?
I know thee who thou art, the holy One of God.

(Mark 1:24)

The ironic difference lies in that the unclean spirit in the Bible story realized that the one he recognized was his enemy and would deprive him of his dwelling place, while Chaos believes Satan's lying statement that some of the created realms may be re-won to Chaos; the result is, however, the same in both cases. The unclean spirit was cast out by Christ, and the territory of Chaos is even further limited by the journey of Satan, for Sin and Death follow him, constructing the "broad and beat'n" causeway from Hell to the newly created universe. The injection of "stranger" into the words used by Chaos indicates that he does not really recognize the nature of Satan, who is an enemy to everyone and everything but himself; the evil spirit in the Scripture alluded to did recognize the power and holy nature of Christ.

Sometimes the suggested context reinforces the statement of the speaker. As the Heavenly Father views the invasion of man's world by Sin and Death following the Fall, he speaks of how even these horrible monsters, unknown to themselves, fulfill his purposes.

and is now subject to sin and death) and the Son of God are bound together as David's and God's lives were, so that just as God undertook to destroy David's enemies and to place him on the throne of the land from which he had been driven in exile, Christ will undertake to destroy the enemies of Adam and his posterity and to restore man to Paradise in "Heav'n and Earth renewd" (X, 638). Just when the actions of Sin and Death make it appear that the victory of evil is assured, God emphasizes the certainty of Christ's triumph for man's sake.

Language Used for a Purpose the Reverse of its Biblical Purpose

Language used in Milton's epics suggesting a similar situation in the Bible and suggesting connotations of the Scriptural context of the Biblical language has, as this discussion has shown, an ironic effect at times. But a use of Biblical language in which the purpose of the language, as it originally appeared in the Bible, is reversed gives a powerful effect of dramatic irony, when the reversal is recognized, which goes beyond the ironic effects seen thus far. Other fallen angels make speeches in which such a reversal of language from the Bible is present (as do Sin, Eve, and the poet himself), but, as one might expect, Satan is the character in whose dramatic utterances Biblical language is most often reversed in purpose from its use in the Bible.

Satan's first speech to the assembled devils, in which he calls for a "Full Counsel" to "mature" their thoughts of continued war against Heaven, hints at the plan, later decided on, to corrupt God's new creation. But some plan of guile rather than of force is

necessary, Satan thinks.

Henceforth his might we know, and know our own
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 New warr, provok't; our better part remains
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile
 What force effected not: that he no less
 At length from us may find, who overcomes
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.

(P. L., I, 643-649)

Satan's description of his recommended strategy of underhanded fraud as "our better part" is a reversal in purpose and use of the Scriptural phrase "that good part" from the words of Christ to Martha on the occasion when she complained to him that her sister, Mary, was not helping with the housework but was, instead, sitting at his feet and hearing his words:

Martha, Martha, thou art carefull and troubled about many things: But one thing is needfull, and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

(Luke 10:41-42)

The contrast in the Bible is between the passive listening of Mary and the active service of Martha; the "good part" is to listen and learn from Christ rather than to get so involved in the business of serving, even when it is the Lord one is serving, that he and his teachings are neglected. Satan's point is that "close design . . . fraud or guile" which may even give the appearance of a passive desire to learn from God (it is this approach, one may remember, that fools Uriel when Satan pretends to wish to see mankind only that he may adore his Maker) is better for the devils to choose than the

part of active enemies in open conflict against God.³

In the debate of the devils in Pandaemonium reversals of Biblical language occur in an especially concentrated form. The ironic effect of the reversals builds from speech to speech as the hellish assembly proceeds in its deliberations.

Moloch's use of "strange fire" (II, 69) as one of the torments with which he advises the fallen angels to make war upon Heaven, a use briefly commented on in Chapter Two, deserves additional comment here. The allusion is to the offering, as an act of unauthorized and self-willed pseudo-devotion, of "strange fire" by Nadab and Abihu, the result of which offering was the destruction by fire of those priests themselves (Leviticus 10:1). Moloch is advocating making war on God with that which brought destruction upon two of God's own priests, the sons of Aaron, when they offered it to the Lord although he had "commanded them not" (Leviticus 10:1); the irony of the reversal is, of course, that if strange fire offered in erroneous devotion brought swift destruction upon those who offered it, then how much more would the attempt to attack God's throne with strange fire bring

³The allusion to Christ's words to Martha has been recognized and noted by Verity in his edition of Paradise Lost. A possibility which has not been pointed out is that Satan's "our better part" may be an allusion to Shakespeare's Falstaff, who, justifying his running from battle, said: "the better part of valour is discretion: in the which better part, I have saved my life" (Henry IV, Part I, V, iv, 121-22). To accept the possibility that Milton had Shakespeare's fat comic in mind would be to support C. S. Lewis' view of Satan as ridiculous, almost comic, and a fool in many of his speeches, a view which he presents in A Preface to Paradise Lost (London, 1942), pp. 92-96. Another possible Biblical source for the phrase is I Samuel 23:20.

destruction upon the attackers? Again, Moloch's rhetorical question (to be taken up by Belial), which begins "what can be worse / Then to dwell here," includes a reference to the fallen angels as "The Vassals of his anger" (II, 90), an allusion to the Biblical question:

What if God, willing to shewe his wrath, and to make
his power known, indured with much long suffering the
vessels of wrath fitted to destruction[?]

(Romans 9:22)

Moloch's argument is that since the devils are the slaves of God's anger (with a play on "Vassals" for "vessels") they should not fear to "incense / His utmost ire" because things cannot possibly get worse even if the devils are completely consumed; yet Moloch's language alludes to a Scripture in which God is presented as enduring with "much long suffering the vessels of wrath" even though they are destined to eventual destruction.

Although Belial answers Moloch's speech with scorn and argues eloquently that things could be much worse than they are, he shows a misunderstanding of God similar to Moloch's. Both devils feel that God may be suddenly incensed into destroying them or making things worse for them as though he did not operate on a long-range plan of "Eternal Providence" but allowed such rebels to spur him into unpremeditated action.⁴ Belial, arguing that things could be worse, says,

⁴See Paradise Lost, X, 626-32, where God sees Sin and Death on their way to Earth and comments on this particular misconception of his nature on the part of his enemies, who laugh as if God, "transported with some fit / Of Passion," had "At random yeilded up" the new creation to the misrule of Satan's hordes. The truth is that God uses these "Hell-hounds" to fulfill his eternal purposes.

What if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires
Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage
And plunge us in the Flames?

(P. L., II, 170-172)

The idea that God's breath kindles the flames of Hell is a Biblical one, but the text alluded to makes clear that it was not sudden anger that caused the creation of Hell; it was prepared of old, according to foreknowledge.

For Tophet is ordeined of old; yea, for the king it is prepared; he hath made it deepe and large: the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the LORD, like a streame of brimstone, doeth kindle it.

(Isaiah 30:33)

Belial's reference to "sevenfold rage" is almost surely an allusion to Nebuchadnezzar, who, in sudden wrath against the Hebrew children for their refusal to bow to his image, was

full of fury, and the forme of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego: therefore he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.

(Daniel 3:19)

The implication of Belial's language is that God is an Almighty Tyrant who is likely to fly into a fit of passion and devise new torments on the spur of the moment for the rebels if they make war.

The other side of the same coin is Belial's assumption that if the devils bear their doom quietly, the same kind of irresponsible arbitrariness in God will motivate him to "Not mind us not offending" (II, 212), and that, consequently, "these raging fires / Will slack'n, if his breath stir not thir flames" (II, 213-14). Thus both Moloch's

counsel of desperate war and Belial's counsel of "ignoble ease, and peaceful sloath" (II, 227), as Milton calls it, are based, as shown by their reversals of Biblical language, upon the kind of perverted and inadequate view of God that one would expect such fallen angels to have.

But Mammon, who wins the applause of the assembly as a result of his opposition to both Moloch and Belial and his advocacy of self-development in Hell, descends even lower in his attitude towards God; he will not admit that Heaven has anything to offer that Hell does not have:

for ev'n in heav'n his looks & thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heav'ns pavement, trod'n Gold,
Then aught divine or holy else enjoy'd
In vision beatific.

(P. L., I, 680-684)

Of any special blessedness in seeing God as the result of purity in heart (Matthew 5:8), therefore, Mammon knows nothing and cares nothing; he is a complete materialist and, as such, is contemptuous of Heaven's King with his "Strict Laws" requiring "warbl'd Hymns" and "Forc't Halleluiahs" (II, 241-43). Heaven has light, but even there God imitates "our Darkness"; we will "his Light / Imitate when we please" (II, 270-71), says Mammon. From Hell's "Desart soile" we can dig gems and gold with which to "raise / Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?" (II, 272-73), he asks. But nowhere does Mammon reveal his irredeemable perversity of mind more than in his counsel that he and the other devils seek

Our own good from our selves, and from our own
 Live to our selves, though in this vast recess,
 Free, and to none accountable, preferring
 Hard liberty before the easie yoke
 Of servile Pomp.

(P. L., II, 253-257)

Embedded in Mammon's oxymoronic sarcasm is the sneering reference to "the easie yoke," an allusion to the words of Jesus:

Take my yoke upon you, and learne of me; for I am meeke
 and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your
 soules. For my yoke is easie and my burden is light.

(Matthew 11:29-30)

In keeping with the character of Mammon, the purpose of the words is reversed; that true freedom which Christ offered to those who would receive and obey him (the kind of freedom championed by Abdiel in Book V, lines 822-30) is inconceivable to Mammon, for he cannot believe that there really is such a thing as an easy yoke. His liberty is license and is summed up in his phrase "to none accountable." He recognizes no superior and thus cannot imagine himself being voluntarily obedient to or responsible to any authority higher than one of his own stripe. He has not learned and will never learn that "whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sinne" (John 8:34).

The speaker who turns the tide from approval of Mammon's proposal to acceptance of the plan "the Author of all ill" had in mind from the beginning is Beelzebub. In addition to the authoritativeness and the air of truth which Biblical allusion gives to his speech, there is ironic reversal of Biblical language included. After his diabolic proposition that God's new creation be invaded and, if pos-

sible, possessed by the devils or destroyed by God, angry to see his new creatures seduced to join the devils' party, his call for a volunteer to make the arduous journey to the new world is in Biblical language with a complete reversal of the purpose served by the language in Scripture.

But first whom shall we send
In search of this new world, whom shall we find
Sufficient?

(P. L., II, 402-404)

The question is an ironic parallel to the one asked by the Lord in Isaiah's vision: "Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whome shall I send, and who will goe for us?" (Isaiah 6:8). Isaiah's quick response, "Here am I; send me" (Isaiah 6:8), is far simpler than Satan's proud acceptance oration (II, 430-66), but the difference which gives the effect of dramatic irony to Beelzebub's question and Satan's volunteering lies in the reversal of purpose in the Biblical language. The question of the Lord in Isaiah is prompted by the divine desire to have a messenger to the Israelites who, though his message would be rejected by many, would be the means of bringing blessing to those who believed him; Beelzebub's question is motivated by the desire to send a representative to Earth and mankind whose lies will be believed and who will become the means of man's sin and death. Isaiah's sin has been purged away by a live coal from God's altar before he volunteers and is commissioned as a messenger of God; Satan's sin has just begun to flourish and the fall into Hell seems to have further inflamed his iniquity. And later in the epic, Satan's ostensibly noble choice

to undertake the journey to Earth alone takes on even deeper irony when it is remembered at the time of Christ's voluntary offering of himself as the one to die in man's place for man's sin (III, 213-16, 237-41).

In a manner reminiscent of the dramatic asides and soliloquies of the villains in Elizabethan drama, Satan reveals his true nature in the frank statements of Book IV of Paradise Lost. When he is talking to himself, he is quite a different Satan from the Satan who displays such singleness of mind and unconquerable will before his cohorts in Hell. The soliloquy at the beginning of Book IV will be commented on in connection with Satan's character as it is revealed through his use of Biblical allusion, but his reversal of the original purpose of Biblical language is noteworthy in the same book of the epic.

After having gazed upon Adam and Eve for a long time, Satan speaks with sadness of the woe with which their happiness is soon to be replaced; but he seeks to lay the blame on God, since he is not man's "purposed foe" but God's. Any wrong he does to man is aimed at God, and, therefore, in his twisted reasoning, God is to blame for it. His sarcasm in the lines,

my dwelling haply may not please
Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such
Accept your Makers work; he gave it me,
Which I as freely give.

(P. L., IV, 378-381)

is intensified by the ironic reversal of purpose which Satan gives to the words of Christ, "Freely yee have received, freely give"

(Matthew 10:8). Jesus' words had to do with the gift of the Spirit to "Heale the sicke, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils" (Matthew 10:8) -- as the disciples had freely received of the power of the Spirit, they were freely to give spiritual help to others less fortunate. Satan, with grim, diabolic humor, indicates his willingness to give freely of sin, suffering, death, and finally Hell as freely as it was given to him. Actually, of course, he deserved his fate; God did not really consign him to Hell "freely," as though for no cause, as Satan implies. Recognition of the reversal involved in Satan's Biblical language increases the bitterness of Satan's heavy sarcasm and makes his plan to ruin man appear even more fiendish.

Once Satan has entered into the Serpent in Book IX, the combination of the Serpent's beauty and ability to speak with Satan's persuasive and flattering eloquence soon brings Eve to the foot of the forbidden tree. Satan uses the arguments recorded of the Serpent in Genesis, but more arguments are supplied in Milton's dramatic portrayal. Explaining that he has risen from brute dumbness to human intelligence and articulate speech by eating of the forbidden fruit, Satan, in the Serpent, argues that Eve can rise above human limitations and be as wise as the gods.

So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
Human, to put on Gods, death to be wisht.

(P. L., IX, 713-714)

The language is patterned after Paul's description of conversion:

Lie not one to another, seeing that you have put off
the old man with his deeds; And have put on the new

man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.

(Colossians 3:9-10)

The Biblical image of putting off old garments to put on new occurs in a context which relates it to conversion and baptism, an important step of obedience to God; Satan's use of the image reverses its purpose. He uses it to persuade Eve to take the first step of disobedience to God. The Biblical figure is that of a dying and a rebirth -- the old man of sin dies; a new man, "renewed in knowledge," comes to life in Christ. Satan, too, relates to dying and rebirth what he is urging Eve to do -- death as a human being will be followed by life as a god, he argues. In Satan's last words, his call to action which results in Eve's plucking and eating the fruit, he sums up this argument and bases his imperative invitation on it: "Goddess humane, reach then and freely taste" (IX, 732). The words "Goddess humane" suggest his preceding arguments. He does not need to repeat them. The two words imply: Eve, you are already a goddess, the "Sovran of Creatures" (l. 612) and "Empress of this fair World" (l. 568), but you are still human and thus limited; if you would put off the limitations of humanity and put on complete godhood as I have put off animal limitations and put on human intellect and speech, "reach then and freely taste."⁵ Satan's phrase "freely taste" recalls God's

⁵The interpretation of "Goddess humane" set forth above seems to have been conclusively demonstrated to be the correct interpretation by Professor Ants Oras in "'Goddess Humane'" ('Paradise Lost' IX. 732)," MLR, XLIX (1954), 51-53.

command to Adam, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eate: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evill, thou shalt not eate of it" (Genesis 2:16-17); again Satan is reversing the purpose of the Scriptural phrase, this time by using "freely taste" as an invitation to Eve to eat of the one tree to which God's "freely eate" did not apply.

Sin uses a Scriptural phrase as she talks with her son, Death, as they sit at the gates of Hell awaiting the triumphal return of their Author. The poetic and the Biblical situation are similar, but, more important here, the purpose of the Biblical language is reversed.

O Son, why sit we here each other viewing
 Idlely, while Satan our great Author thrives
 In other Worlds, and happier Seat provides
 For us his ofspring deare?

(P. L., X, 235-238)

In the Bible analogue there are, sitting at the gate of a besieged city, four lepers who say to one another, "Why sit we here until we die?" (II Kings 7:3). The lepers have no hope of having their famine relieved either at the gate or within the city; therefore, they elect to go out into the camp of the enemy (Syria) and take their chances on being fed or being killed. Their hope is to live, and the result of their venture into the enemy camp is good news to all the city, for the Syrians have retreated and left all their food and clothing behind. Sin's suggestion that she and Death sit no longer at the gate, however, is through her hope that Satan has been successful in tempting man, thus opening the way for the horrible pair

to enter God's (the enemy's) new world; the hope of Sin and Death is "carnage, prey innumerable" (X, 268), and the bridge they build is a source of fiendish joy to the inhabitants of Hell since it provides them with a passageway to Earth. In short, the result of the lepers' question and their action in the Bible is life for many who were on the verge of starvation; the result of Sin's question and the consequent action is misery, corruption, and death for what has been a world of life. Then as Sin and Death finish the "stupendous Bridge," Satan appears on his journey back to Hell to report his success in causing man's Fall, praises his offspring for their work, and gives them the charge: "If your joynt power prevaile, th' affaires of Hell / No detriment need feare, goe and be strong" (X, 408-409). The charge given by Moses to Israel in the wilderness (Deuteronomy 11:3) and by God to Joshua after Moses' death (Joshua 1:6, 9), the charge to "be strong and goe in and possess the land," is reversed in purpose and becomes, in Satan's mouth, a charge to Sin and Death to possess the Earth.

After she and Adam have repented and been given assurance of forgiveness, Eve assumes that she and her husband will remain in the Garden of Eden. That labor has been enjoined upon them does not seem so bad; as she says,

while here we dwell,
What can be toilsom in these pleasant Walkes?
Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content.

(P. L., XI, 178-180)

Immediately following these words, ominous signs in Eden, such as an

eagle seeking to kill two smaller birds, give indication that all is not well. But that Eve's hope is unrealistic is suggested also by her language, associated with the Pauline statement, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content" (Philippians 4:11). Eve's idea is that to be fallen is not really so bad after all if one may live in Paradise. But fallen man cannot stay in Paradise; the Fall has corrupted him and Nature, and he will henceforth corrupt whatever he touches. Eve's words are used to a purpose the reverse of Paul's words; her suggestion is that lovely surroundings can make one content even though he is fallen, while Paul's point is that the inner peace and strength which Christ gives (Philippians 4:13) make him content no matter what his outer surroundings are. The allusion emphasizes that Eve, and Adam, have yet to learn through the visions given by Michael and through God-given dreams that the external environment is not so important as having "a Paradise within" which can be "happier farr" (XII, 587).⁶

⁶Reversals of Biblical language in Paradise Lost do not occur in the speech of the actors alone. Milton's comments upon the action sometimes involve such allusions. See, for example, Milton's description of Satan's choice of the Serpent as his instrument: "his final sentence chose / Fit Vessel, fittest Imp of fraud, in whom / To enter, and his dark suggestions hide" (IX, 88-90). In Scripture, Paul the great Apostle to the Gentiles is "a chosen vessell" to God (Acts 9:15). By keeping himself pure a man may be "a vessell unto honour . . . meete for the Masters use" (II Timothy 2:21). The dramatic irony is heightened when another Biblical allusion is recognized: the question of Scripture, "What if God, willing to shewe his wrath, and to make his power known, indured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction?" (Romans 9:22). The Serpent is a "Fit Vessel" for Satan because of his "native suttletie" (IX, 93), but he is also a vessel of wrath fitted to destruction.

In Paradise Regained, as in the longer epic, Biblical language is used in which the original purpose is reversed for dramatic effect. All such use of language in Milton's second epic is by Satan. Reporting to his consistory of demons after the first encounter with Christ, Satan says,

I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequence was impowr'd,
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find
Far other labour to be undergon
Then when I dealt with Adam first of Men.

(P. R., II, 129-133)

There is allusion here to the exhortation of the psalmist, "O taste and see that the LORD is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him" (Psalm 34:8). Satan has "tasted" Christ (in the sense of "tested" him) and has found him good, but this is far from bringing Satan to blessing through trust in Christ. All Satan will admit is that Christ will require quite a different approach from that which ensnared the first of men; having tasted Christ, Satan finds him comparatively good but will not admit that he is absolutely good. Not only does he not trust in Christ's claim, therefore, but he still seeks to defeat Christ.

Later in Book II of Paradise Regained, after the lavish banquet spread by the devils has failed to attract Christ, Satan seeks to impress Christ with the need of money to bring him "Honour, Friends, Conquest, and Realms," and his advice echoes Scriptural structure.

Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
Get Riches first, get Wealth, and Treasure heap,
Not difficult if thou hearken to me,

Riches are mine, Fortune is in my hand.

(P. R., II, 426-429)

Satan is contradicting such Biblical principles as that the power to get wealth comes from God (Deuteronomy 8:17-18) and that one should seek first not money but the kingdom of God and his righteousness (Matthew 6:33), and his imperative advice to "Get Riches . . . get Wealth," following the same structural pattern, recalls the imperative of Solomon in Scripture: "Get wisdom, get understanding; forget it not; neither decline from the wordes of my mouth" (Proverbs 4:5). Christ reveals Satan's reasoning that riches are the sine qua non of doing great things as specious by references to both Biblical and classical examples to the contrary, and the reader may well remember such Biblical warnings as "He that trusteth in his riches shall fall" (Proverbs 11:28) and "be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertaine riches, but in the living God" (I Timothy 6:17). But anticipating these is the dramatic effect of Satan's reversal of purpose and language in his use of the structure of the familiar proverb, "Get wisdom, get understanding."

During the last temptation when Satan sets Christ on the highest pinnacle of the Temple, he urges:

Cast thy self down; safely if Son of God:
For it is written, He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels, in thir hands
They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.

(P. R., IV, 555-559)

Here Satan uses authoritative Scriptural quotation as a means of

getting Christ to cast himself down just to prove that God will preserve him according to the promise of the Bible. Satan is using the psalm alluded to for a different purpose from that for which it was written when he tries to use it to motivate Christ to commit a rash or presumptive act. In reversing the purpose of the Bible passage, Satan omits part of it (as he does in the Bible account of the temptation); the full promise of the Scripture is,

For he shall give his Angels charge over thee: to
keepe thee in all thy wayes. They shall beare thee
up in their hands: lest thou dash thy foote against
a stone.

(Psalm 91:11-12)

The promise then, fully quoted, is that the child of God, whether his Son or one of his other children, will be kept from harm in all his ways, i. e., in ways that are wise and befitting a child of God. It is the phrase "in all thy wayes" which Satan omits. Christ's way could not be a way of presumption or a way which would reduce him to the level of a cheap stunt-man. Thus Satan attempts, by the use of Scripture, to tempt Christ to do something which is contrary to the whole spirit of the Scripture in its original form.⁷

⁷Of Satan's quotation of Scripture in *Paradise Regained*, IV, 555-59, Merritt Y. Hughes, in his edition of the poem, merely notes: "The lines paraphrase Psalm xci, 11-12" (*Paradise Regained, the Minor Poems, and Samson Agonistes* [New York, 1937], p. 531). Other editors note the Bible reference but do not comment on Satan's omission; the significance of Satan's use of the Scripture here has been, therefore, generally overlooked. Elizabeth Marie Pope (*Paradise Regained: The Tradition and the Poem* [Baltimore, 1947], pp. 82-83), however, has pointed out that the Devil's crafty twisting of the text alluded to in Psalm 91 was noted by such early theologians as Chrysostom, Jerome,

In his epic poems Milton made use of language allusive to the Bible to suggest situations similar in the Bible to those in the poems, to add the significance of dramatic irony to certain speeches, and to effect a complete reversal of the original purpose for which the Biblical language was intended. Especially in this latter use Biblical language has been seen as an index to the character of speakers in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, most notably to the character of Satan. The consideration of this and other ways in which Milton used references to the Bible to delineate character constitutes the final section of this chapter.

Character

Satan

The character most fully delineated dramatically by the use

Theophylactus, and Origen, as well as by such commentators as Jeremy Taylor and John Calvin. As Milton presents the final scene between Satan and Christ, however, the real test to which Satan is finally subjecting Christ, the only test to which Christ makes an active response in the whole poem, is the test, "There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright / Will ask thee skill" (IV, 551-52), with allusion to "stand against the wiles of the devill" (Ephes. 6:11-14) from a New Testament passage in which "stand" appears four times in four verses. Satan does not really believe Christ can stand on the needle-sharp spire; thus, he is putting him in position so that he must either fall or jump, and Satan's temptation is that he jump. Christ does neither, but, to Satan's amazement, he stands, demonstrating divine power for the first time in the poem. He can make such a demonstration, for Satan has not seriously tempted him to stand; his emphasis is on the other alternatives. And, as Pope has shown, Christ can quote the Biblical "Tempt not the Lord thy God" (Deut. 6:16) with application to himself without contradicting Milton's Arianism in the De Doctrina because there Milton had agreed that in the Bible "the name and presence of God is used to imply his vicarious power and might resident in the Son" (quoted by Pope, p. 105).

of allusions to the Bible and Bible characters in Paradise Lost is Satan. This is not to say that the Son, Abdiel, Adam and Eve, Raphael, Michael, or the lieutenants of Satan are inadequately delineated characters. But the very nature of the position Satan has in the epic focuses attention upon him from the beginning; he is the leader of the revolt against God, the Tempter who brings about the Fall, and these roles make him the chief actor on the stage of our attention. Though Milton is careful to make it clear that God is ruling in omniscience and omnipotence over all the universe and that it is only by the permission of God that Satan can do anything, yet, dramatically, Satan's actions are usually the initiating ones, bringing reaction from God, the angels, and man. As Satan acts, he talks, and others, including the poet, make comments to or about him. The Biblical language used by and about Satan are constantly mirroring his character so that the reader may see him reflected as the poem progresses.

The tremendous size and power of Satan are emphasized in the first book of Paradise Lost, and the use of Biblical language heightens and intensifies the reader's impression of him. The first words spoken by him (the first spoken by any character in the poem) are allusive to the words spoken by God (through the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel) to Lucifer after his fall from Heaven: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, sonne of the morning?" (Isaiah 14:12) and "Thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness"

(Ezekiel 28:17).⁸ Satan speaks to Beelzebub:

If thou beest he; But O how fall'n ! how chang'd
From him, who in the happy Realms of Light
Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine
Myriads though bright.

(P. L., I, 84-87)

The dramatic effect of having Satan speak to one "next himself in power" (l. 79) in language reminiscent of that used by God speaking to Satan in Scripture is to raise one's estimate of Satan's lost estate in Heaven and to magnify the depths of his fall much more than if the words were applied by Beelzebub, for example, to Satan. Other allusions serve to support both the impression of Satan's great character (his courage, will power, and perseverance, even though they

⁸Merrit Y. Hughes, in the introduction to his edition of the epic, speaks of Milton's having followed the traditional interpretation of Isaiah 14:12 as referring to the fall of Satan, "although we now know that the prophetic passage referred really to the King of Babylon" (*Paradise Lost* [New York, 1935], p. xxxii). But of course Milton, and anyone else who read the Bible, knew as well as twentieth century readers that Isaiah was commanded to take up a "proverb against the king of Babylon" (Isaiah 14:4); Medieval and Renaissance Christians knew that prophecy is closely connected with history and that the prophets had, first of all, a message for their contemporaries. They were accustomed, however, to looking in the Bible for passages which transcended their historical and dispensational limitations and suggested explanations of the past or disclosures of the future. It is not true, as Professor Hughes' statement implies, that "we" know more about the Bible's statements now than Milton and his contemporaries did; what is more true is that we have adopted a literal minded idea that history will explain everything in the prophets and have, therefore, lost the imaginative allegorical vision which responds to prophetic transcendence of historical horizons in the Bible. For a serious modern presentation of Biblical hermeneutics which seeks to maintain the validity of this "mystical sense of Scripture," see Louis Berkhof, *Principles of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1950), particularly Chapter VII, entitled "Theological Interpretation."

are misdirected and later revealed by his soliloquy in Book IV to be affected, are great) and the depth and desperateness of his fallen condition. The character of Satan is well delineated aside from the use of Biblical allusion, but by recognition of Milton's use of the Bible the reader gains deeper insight into the character of Satan in both epic poems.

In Paradise Lost, Milton's chief method of giving the reader glimpses of the various facets of Satan's character through the use of Biblical allusion is to have the language used either by or about Satan associate him with familiar villains of the Bible.⁹ Thus the Devil is associated by Bible words and phrases with Dives, Nebuchadnezzar, Herod, Esau, Belshazzar, the Pharisees, Pharaoh,¹⁰ and even

⁹Other kinds of Biblical associations suggest elements in Satan's character. When he alights on Hell's "singed bottom," Milton's comment is "Such resting found the sole / Of unblest feet" (I, 236-38), which connects Satan with the raven let out of the ark by Noah. The dove released from the ark "found no rest for the sole of her foote" (Gen. 8:9), but the raven, let out earlier, did not return but was content with the rocky cliffs and blasted trees of a world under judgment. Satan would rather be under judgment in Hell than enjoy the security of Heaven in subservience to God. Cf. also *P. L.*, XI, 856, where the dove is described as "surer messenger" who sought "Green Tree or ground" unlike the raven whose unblest feet rested otherwise. There is an ironic parallel between Milton's description of Satan as "by transcendent glory rais'd / Above his fellows" (II, 427-28) and the psalmist's description of Messiah as "annoynted . . . with the oyle of gladnes above thy fellows" (Psalm 45:7, quoted in Heb. 1:9). Then as Satan views his prey in Paradise, he is portrayed as taking on the form of a lion and stalking Adam and Eve (IV, 401-402); this form recalls the Biblical simile of Peter, who warned that Satan "as a roaring Lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour" (I Peter 5:8), and foreshadows Satan's future role as man's enemy.

¹⁰See above in the section on language the discussion of allusions linking Satan and his hosts with Pharaoh and his army (pp. 222-23).

Judas Iscariot.

The first view of Satan in Paradise Lost is in Hell; he stirs and begins to think.

For now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes.

(P. L., I, 54-56)

The words of Christ in the Bible concerning Dives are, "In hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments" (Luke 16:23a). The force of the allusion is to emphasize the contrast between Satan's former and present state; like the rich man in Jesus' story, who was "clothed in purple and fine linnen and fared sumptuously every day" (Luke 16: 19), Satan finds himself in a situation completely unlike the place from whence he has fallen. But, unlike the rich man of Scripture, Satan lifts his eyes to behold "sights of woe, / Regions of sorrow, doleful shades" (I, 64-65) unmitigated by any view of such a place of blessing as Abraham's bosom, and, further unlike Dives, who had a desire to return to warn his relatives about Hell, Satan ostensibly has no regrets and no requests, no quarter to ask of God. His aim is to "wage by force or guile eternal Warr" (l. 121). Both the similarities and the differences, therefore, between Dives and Satan contribute to the dramatic force of Satan's character as it is being revealed in description, action, and speech.

Later in Book I Satan engages in action ascribed to him in the Bible and is associated with King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon in doing so. As the fallen angels assemble in military order before

him, Satan views

Thir visages and stature as of Gods,
Thir number last he summs. And now his heart
Distends with pride, and hardning in his strength
Glories.

(P. L., I, 570-573)

The numbering of the host recalls the Biblical occasion when

Satan stood up against Israel, & provoked David to number Israel And Joab gave the summe of the number of the people unto David And God was displeased with this thing, therefore he smote Israel.

(I Chronicles 21:1, 5, 7)

David's numbering, as such, was not wrong, but the motive behind it was; for the earthly king over God's chosen people to glory in the numbers he ruled was blasphemous, for it suggested that he, not God, was responsible for the greatness of the kingdom and its people. But there is further significance to the Scriptural allusions. Satan's pride and self-glorying is like that of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, who, "when his heart was lifted up, and his minde hardened in pride, . . . was deposed from his kingly throne, and they tooke his glory from him" (Daniel 5:20). The suggestion of the Biblical allusions is that Satan, like David who was punished for numbering his people in pride and like Nebuchadnezzar whose pride resulted in his being driven out to live with the wild beasts, will fall the harder in defeat the more he exalts himself. The allusions highlight dramatically the complete egotism and proud self-centeredness of Satan.

Another association with a Bible villain occurs when Satan, disguised as a "stripling Cherube" (III, 636), approaches the sun to

ask Uriel's directions for finding the seat of man within the newly created universe. He asks,

Brightest Seraph tell
In which of all these shining Orbes hath Man
His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
But all these shining Orbes his choice to dwell;
That I may find him, and with secret gaze,
Or open admiration him behold.

(P. L., III, 667-676)

The contrast between the ulterior motive of Satan in seeking man and his stated reason involves hypocrisy akin to that which led Herod to pretend interest in the whereabouts of the Christ-child, announced by the wise men from the orient (guided to Jerusalem by a star) as "born King of the Jews," because of a desire to worship him, when his real motive was a desire to kill him. Herod sent the wise men to Bethlehem with the charge:

Goe, and search diligently for the yong child: and
when ye have found him, bring mee word againe, that
I may come and worship him also.

(Matthew 2:8)

The wise men in the Biblical story, like Uriel in Paradise Lost, were taken in by the dissembling of Herod in spite of their wisdom and were only prevented from returning to report to him by the intervention of God in a dream (Matthew 2:12). The association of Satan with the evil king who perpetrated the slaughter of the innocent children of Bethlehem is dramatically apt both in the dark shadow it throws upon the character of Satan and in the similarity between Satan's mission to destroy the newly created first Adam and Herod's attempt to destroy the newly born second Adam.

Perhaps the fullest view of Satan's character occurs in the soliloquy near the opening of Book IV; like the villains on the Elizabethan stage, Satan opens his heart to himself and to the reader. Here is a Satan quite different from the one who stands like a rock of adamant before his followers. As he himself says, his followers little know how dearly he abides his vaunting boasts that he could subdue God himself or "Under what torments inwardly" he groans. Many Biblical allusions add to the dramatic effectiveness of his utterances of "ire, envie, and despair" (IV, 115), but the central one around which the others revolve is that in the following lines:

O then at last relent: is there no place
Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left?
None left but by submission; and that word
Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
Among the Spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd
With other promises and other vaunts
Then to submit.

(P. L., IV, 79-85)

By allusion to Scripture, Satan is here identified with Esau, described in the New Testament as "a profane person . . . who for one morsell of meat sold his birthright" and who "afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing . . . was rejected: for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with teares" (Hebrews 12:16b-17). This New Testament description is an interpretation of the Old Testament story of Esau who sold his right of primogeniture to his twin brother Jacob for a mess of red pottage and who, later, wished to inherit the blessing of the Abrahamic Covenant from his father Isaac after the blessing had already been given to

Jacob. (Jacob resorted to deception, through disguising himself as Esau, in order to get the blessing, but it was rightfully his anyway once Esau had sold him the birthright.) What caused Esau to weep so bitterly was not deep remorse over having allowed his appetite to overcome his better judgment when he sold his birthright; rather it was sorrow over losing the blessing which he had thoughtlessly given up by the sale of his birthright. Similarly, although Satan says things in his soliloquy which indicate grief over his sin of pride and opposition to God (as when he says to himself, "Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will / Chose freely what it now so justly rues," IV, 71-72), there is no genuine repentance over his sin of rebellion. He still disdains submission to God as much as ever, and pride prevents his admission to the rebels that he has lied to them. His sorrow, like Esau's, is a self-pitying sorrow which is concerned not with his sin but with his loss.

Satan's expression of hatred for the sun of the new universe because it reminds him of the "bright eminence" he enjoyed before he sinned reveals his emphasis not on how he has sinned but on what he has lost. To the sun he says,

to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy Spheare.

(P. L., IV, 35-39)

The sun, the light of this world, is used often in the Bible as an image representing Christ; in the Old Testament he is figured in

prophecy as "the Sunne of righteousness . . . with healing in his wings" (Malachi 4:2a), and in the New Testament he is "the light of the world" (John 9:5), the one whose countenance is "as the Sun shineth in his strength" (Revelation 1:16b). He is the one who said, "For every one that doeth evill, hateth the light" (John 3:20), the one who appeared to John on Patmos with his face shining like the sun and gave John the warning message to the Church of the Ephesians, "Remember . . . from whence thou art fallen, and repent" (Revelation 2:5). Whenever Satan sees anything or anyone in an exalted position, his jealousy and hatred are aroused. The glorious sun, ruling like a god over the new world, causing the brilliant stars to hide their heads in his sight, draws hatred from the sinful pride and ambition of Satan just as the Son, exalted by the Father and ordained to rule as Messiah over the angels, drew Satan's hatred and rebellion. The Biblical allusions of the beginning of Satan's soliloquy emphasize the parallel between his hatred of the Son and of the sun and indicate the reason for his hatred; he "that doeth evill, hateth the light" (John 3:20). Though he is called to remembrance of his former state, he does not repent. He does admit, however, that he was not created as he is; he says of his war against God,

he deservd no such return
 From me, whom he created what I was
 In that bright eminence, and with his good
 Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.

(P. L., IV, 42-45)

It is not "whom he created what I am" but "whom he created what I

was." Satan is corroborating God's word (through Ezekiel) to himself: "Thou wast perfect in thy wayes, from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee" (Ezekiel 28:15). In the same Biblical context, Satan was told, "thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness" (Ezekiel 28:17). Satan's words also allude to the promise of James that "God . . . giveth to al men liberally, & upbraideth not" (James 1:5) and to John's definition of the love of God keeping God's commandments "and his commandments are not grievous" (I John 5:3).

Satan realizes, then, that his action was unwise; he matched himself against "Heav'ns matchless King" (IV, 41). He also realizes that God gave him only good and thus gave him the wisdom, "free Will and Power to stand" as faithfully as the "other Powers as great" who did not fall (IV, 63, 66). Neither did God upbraid him with his goodness nor make his service hard with grievous commandments. Why then does Satan not repent and be received again into his place of glory in Heaven? Because, like Esau, he can find "no place of repentance" (Hebrews 12:17; A. V. margin: "no way to change his mind"), no place "for Pardon left" (IV, 80). Satan's attention, like Esau's, is focused on the lost place of blessing rather than on the sin by which he lost that place. Satan, like Esau, has made his choice long ago, and though he did not realize at the time that the result of his choice would be exclusion from blessing, as Esau did not realize it, such was the case, and he is not now willing to undergo the change of mind necessary for reinstatement. The very wilful corruption of his

nature which led Satan to make the original choice to rebel will prevent any true reconciliation with God. Even if he could be restored, Satan says, "how soon / Would highth recal high thoughts, how soon un- say / What feign'd submission swore" (IV, 94-96). Therefore Satan makes his declaration of irrevocable purpose:

So farwel Hope, and with Hope farwel Fear,
Farwel Remorse: all Good to me is lost;
Evil be thou my Good.

(P. L., IV, 108-110)

If one remembers at this point the allusion to Esau, one may recall that Esau, while he did not make such a statement as Satan does, immediately following his tears of remorse over the lost blessing, did state his intention of murdering his brother (Genesis 27:41), an intention which would certainly not indicate that Esau's tears were representative of real repentance. That Esau was reprobate is indicated by the scathing denunciations by the prophets Obadiah and Malachi of Esau and his descendants and by the familiar phrase, "Jacob have I loved but Esau have I hated" (Romans 9:13, Malachi 1:2-3). Satan's intention is to do far worse than murder; he is on his way to Eden to bring sin and death upon an entire race. That his purposes will eventually bring more wrath down upon his own head is suggested by the allusion in his phrase, "Evil be thou my Good," to Isaiah's warning:

Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evill;
that put darknes for light, and light for darknesse,
that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.

(Isaiah 5:20)

At the close of Book IV when Satan is taken into custody by the guardian angels and brought before their chief, Gabriel, he is described as a magnificent figure with a stature that reaches the sky (IV, 386-900). But a moment later God intervenes with the sign of Libra in the stars; the weight in the scales which represents Satan's chances in a fight with the elect angels flies upward. Then Gabriel says to Satan:

look up,
And read thy Lot in yon celestial Sign
Where thou art weigh'd, & shown how light, how weak,
If thou resist.

(P. L., IV, 1010-1012)

The allusion to Scripture here associates Satan with Belshazzar, King of Babylon, to whom Daniel, interpreting the handwriting on the wall on the night Babylon was to be overthrown by Darius the Mede, said: "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting" (Daniel 5: 27). The divine evidence in the sky transforms Satan from a mighty, awe-inspiring figure boasting of his prowess into a silent fiend who flees murmuring from Paradise. The Biblical allusion to Belshazzar emphasizes the dramatic change in Satan's attitude. Satan is, of course, a far more courageous character than Belshazzar, whose knees knock from fear when he is confronted by a sign from God (Daniel 5: 6), but the association of the two by the reference to being weighed and found too light emphasizes one aspect of Satan's character as it is revealed in Book IV. He who proudly vaunts his undaunted courage while he is surrounded by his followers in Hell is full of doubts and

inner turmoil when he is alone, as in the soliloquy at the opening of Book IV; and when he is faced with clear evidence that God has determined the outcome of battle against him, he flies from danger.

Satan's first formal speech to the great host of angels whom he has led off into the North of Heaven includes, as recounted by Raphael, many allusions to New Testament Scriptures emphasizing the power of Messiah as given him by the Father (P. L., V, 772-802; Philippians 2:10-11; Matthew 28:18; Psalm 2:2-3; Matthew 11:29-30; Hebrews 1:3; John 8:33-34). Satan uses these allusions in his speech to give the false impression that a new and different kind of subservience is to be required of the angels under Messiah than has been required previously under the Father. He skillfully uses rhetorical questions to suggest to the minds of his listeners the humiliation that is being heaped upon him and them by the required "Knee-tribute" and by the submission of their necks to "this Yoke." Will you choose to bow to this Messiah, he asks; then he answers for them:

ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know your selves
Natives and Sons of Heav'n possest before
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free.

(P. L., V, 788-792)

Satan's indignant affirmation that he and all the angels are free, "possest before / By none," is reminiscent of the response of the Pharisees to Christ's statement that faith in his word would bring them to know the truth and that truth would make them free. They answered, "Wee bee Abrahams seed, and were never in bondage to any

man: how sayest thou, Yee shall be made free?" (John 8:33). Satan's argument is that he and the other angels do not need to submit themselves to the Son, for they are free and ordained "to govern, not to serve" (V, 802); like the Pharisees, Satan does not realize that the kind of freedom he boasts of is a kind of slavery, involving license to do whatever selfish motivation may lead to. Abdiel says later, in the beginning of Book VI, of Satan's freedom, "Thy self not free, but to thy self enthrall'd" (VI, 181); the answer of Christ to the Pharisees in the Bible is similar: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever commiteth sin is the servant [δοῦλός, literally "bond-man," "slave"] of sinne If the Sonne therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" (John 8:34, 36). Thus Satan, like the Pharisees who rejected Christ's offer of spiritual freedom even as they boasted of their imagined ancestral freedom, even while he is pleading his right to and love of freedom as reasons for rebelling against God and his Messiah, is demonstrating that he is enslaved to the sins of self-love and pride which have taken root in his mind. The true freedom, freedom indeed, is found only in love and obedience to God and his Son: this is the Biblical position which Abdiel takes. Satan's proud enslavement to sin and self are summed up in his declaration in Book I, "Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n" (l. 263), whereas the true freedom of Abdiel is expressed in that faithful angel's answer to such an attitude as Satan's:

Reign thou in Hell thy Kingdom, let mee serve
In Heav'n God ever blesst, and his Divine

Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd.

(P. L., VI, 183-185)¹¹

The Biblical allusion in Satan's speech concerning freedom associates him with the kind of spiritual pride and blindness with which the Pharisees were afflicted, and Abdiel's statement that Satan is enslaved to himself reflects, implicitly, the reply of Christ to the Pharisees that their freedom was slavery.

A Biblical phrase used twice in Raphael's narration of Heavenly events to Adam associates the character of Satan with that of Judas Iscariot. In the first instance, the phrase is not related to Satan specifically because he has not yet fallen from his high estate, but it is clear that he is the one who is soon to break the command of the Father that all knees in Heaven bow to the Son. At the great convocation, the Father proclaims the Son as his anointed vicegerent and says:

him who disobeyes
Mee disobeyes, breaks union, and that day
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into utter darkness, deep ingulft, his place
Ordaind without redemption, without end.

(P. L., V, 611-615)

The phrase "his place" (l. 614) is repeated by Raphael immediately preceding his account of the creation when he speaks of Lucifer as

¹¹Abdiel's declaration, which so exactly opposes Satan's, includes an allusion to Romans 9:5b -- "Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever"; the allusion is in accord with Abdiel's earlier defense of Messiah as worthy to be served both by virtue of his superior nature and by virtue of God's command (V, 822-40; VI, 174-78).

having fallen "with his flaming Legions through the Deep / Into his place" (VII, 134-35). In the Bible Judas is described as one who "by transgression fell, that he might go to his owne place" (Acts 1: 25). Satan is, of course, the first of all traitors, and Hell is more appropriately spoken of as "his place" than anybody else's. Luke states that "Satan entered into Judas surnamed Iscariot" (Luke 22:3), John reports the same in his gospel (13:2, 27), and John records also that Jesus called Judas "a devill" (6:70-71). Judas is the only one other than Satan of whom the phrase "his own place," referring to Hell, is used. As this allusion is recognized, the Satan of Milton's epic takes on some of the characteristics of Judas: his dissembling nature, as when he draws a third of the angels into the North on the pretext of desiring to provide entertainment in reception of the newly anointed King, is like that of Judas, who gave the appearance of loving Jesus but betrayed him with a kiss; and the fatal course of Satan's existence tends toward self-destruction as a result of his part in the destruction of man in Adam, a course similar to that of Judas, whose betrayal of Christ resulted in his own suicide. If the reader catches the slight hint of a connection between Satan and Judas, he glimpses occasionally, under all the eloquent oratory and sometimes admirable expression of independence, the mean and sneaking figure of Judas Iscariot the Betrayer.

Satan, as seen through Biblical allusion in Paradise Lost, has the proud vanity of Nebuchadnezzar, the cold-blooded wickedness (masquerading as piety) of Herod, the unrepentant materialism and

self-pity of Esau, the cowardliness (covered by boasting until faced with signs of divine omnipotence) of Belshazzar, the blind pride of the Pharisees in a freedom which is spiritual slavery, and the fatal, self-seeking disloyalty of Judas Iscariot.

While the Satan of Paradise Regained has not the mighty stature nor the oratorical eloquence of the Satan of Paradise Lost, he is the same old Serpent, having lost nothing of his talent for guile, fraud, and lying insinuation. He has perhaps even gained in these more subtle talents through the aeons since his fall from Heaven. In his first approach to Christ in Paradise Regained, his speech is marked by a Biblical allusion which functions in forming the reader's estimate of his dramatic character, an allusion which includes and reinforces a word previously used in the same speech and used often in his original rebellion against God in Paradise Lost -- the word new. Asking Christ what he is doing out in the wilderness alone, Satan continues,

I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
Our new baptizing Prophet at the Ford
Of Jordan honour'd so, and call'd thee Son
Of God; I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
To Town or Village nigh (nighest is far)
Where ought we hear, and curious are to hear,
What happ'ns new.

(P. R., I, 326-334)

Satan's initial strategy in tempting away from allegiance to God the hosts of heavenly angels was to suggest that God's exaltation of Messiah was something new which would result in other innovations which

would be detrimental to him and his peers. He spoke to Beelzebub of the "new Laws" being imposed and of how this should lead to "new minds" and "new Counsels" in those who would be obliged to kneel to the anointed Son (P. L., V, 679-82); later he scoffed at Abdiel's statement that he and all the spirits of Heaven were created by the Son as "strange point and new" (P. L., V, 855). Now, as he speaks with the intent of implanting distrust in the heart of Christ, he hints that the newness of John the Baptist's ministry suggests that his honoring of Christ as Son of God is a matter to provoke curiosity but not serious credence without a more miraculous sign to attest it (P. R., I, 342-43). Satan does not mention, of course, that he also saw and heard the descending dove and the voice from Heaven (P. R., I, 79-85), for his purpose is to tempt Christ into making a display of his power as proof of his Sonship to God. In his curiosity and the motive for it, Satan is associated, by Biblical allusion, with the Athenians and visitors who came to hear the preaching of the Apostle Paul. After bringing Paul to the Areopagus, the philosophers and others asked, "May wee know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is?" (Acts 17:19). And Luke, the writer of Acts, adds parenthetically, "For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tel, or to heare some new thing" (Acts 17:21). As Paul preached his sermon on Mars Hill to demonstrate that the God he preached and the doctrine he taught were not "new" things, Christ points out, in answer to Satan's pretense of wonder at his deserted state, that it is not a new thing

for God to protect and provide for his anointed servants in the wilderness. He mentions the examples of Israel, Moses, and Elijah, and asks, "Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust[?]" (I, 355). Satan's pose as a rural swain who merely seeks information about this wanderer out of curiosity is broken as Christ makes it clear that he not only recognizes Satan but knows the purpose of his approach: to tempt Christ to distrust his Father as he tempted the angels and Eve. Yet, although Satan's curiosity is a pose, the Biblical allusion which associates him with the Athenians of Acts adds to the delineation of his character as a worldly-wise sophist, who implies that anything new to his knowledge or experience is suspect.

Satan's character as an ingenious liar is emphasized in his first temptation of Christ in Paradise Regained by his reference to two Old Testament stories. After Christ has seen through his disguise, Satan admits his identity, but claims that he, too, is in the service of God: "For what he bids I do," he says (I, 377). His two examples of having done God's bidding are his trial of Job and his misleading of King Ahab.

I came among the Sons of God, when he
 Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
 To prove him, and illustrate his high worth;
 And when to all his Angels he propos'd
 To draw the proud King Ahab into fraud
 That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
 I undertook that office, and the tongues
 Of all his flattering Prophets glibb'd with lyes
 To his destruction, as I had in charge.

(P. R., I, 368-376)

That Satan is misrepresenting the case of Job is evident from the poem; earlier God the Father has mentioned that Satan

fail'd in Job,
 Whose constant perseverance overcame
 Whate're his cruel malice could invent.

(P. R., I, 147-149)

Therefore, what Satan tries to mislead Christ into regarding as an example of his obedient and successful carrying out of the orders of God has already been spoken of by God as Satan's failure. That Satan's "cruel malice" indeed invented the trials of Job is made clear by Satan's words to God in the Biblical account of Job's trials: "But put foorth thine hand now, and touch all that hee hath, and hee will curse thee to thy face" (Job 1:11) and "touch his bone and his flesh, and hee will curse thee" (Job 2:5). Although there is not a reference in the poem opposing Satan's version of the downfall of King Ahab as clear as that which opposes his version of Job's sufferings, the reader familiar with the Bible has no trouble seeing through Satan's perversion of the Old Testament account. According to Satan, God proposed that Ahab be tricked into going to battle at Ramoth-Gilead; actually, "the LORD said, Who shall perswade Ahab, that he may goe up and fall at Ramoth Gilead?" (I Kings 22:20). According to Satan, the angels all demurred and would not attempt the task; actually, other suggestions were made before Satan's as "one sayd on this manner, and another sayde on that manner" (I Kings 22:20b). According to Satan, he was charged by God to glib the tongues of Ahab's prophets with lies; actually, the lying was Satan's idea and God permitted him to carry it out, saying "goe forth and doe so" (I Kings 22:22b). But the most important element in the

story is not even mentioned by Satan; that is that God sent a true prophet, Micaiah, to Ahab to warn him that he would be killed at Ramoth-Gilead, and when the wicked Ahab refused to believe God's message, Micaiah told him that God had allowed a lying spirit to enter the mouths of the other prophets. Ahab still would not believe Micaiah and so went to his destruction in battle. Christ gives a brief answer to Satan's use of the examples of Job and Ahab (I, 424-29), but only a knowledge of the Scriptures themselves (a knowledge which Milton doubtless assumed on the part of his reader) reveals how cleverly Satan trims and twists Bible texts. Christ sums up the aspect of Satan's character emphasized by these references when he accuses Satan of being "compos'd of lyes / From the beginning" (I, 407-408), an allusion to the words of Christ in the Gospel of John: "When he speaketh a lie, hee speaketh of his owne; for he is a liar and the father of it" (John 8:44b).

Christ makes an explicit allusion to Scripture in Paradise Regained which shows Satan's character in its dominant feature: selfish pride. Satan has offered to deliver up Parthia to Christ and thus assure him of reigning over all Israel, including the ten tribes whose offspring still serve in pagan territory. Christ answers:

But whence to thee this zeal, where was it then
 For Israel, or for David, or his Throne,
 When thou stood'st up his Tempter to the pride
 Of numbring Israel, which cost the lives
 Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
 By three days Pestilence? such was thy zeal

To Israel then, the same that now to me.

(P. R., III, 407-413)

The reference is to the time when "Satan stood up against Israel, & provoked David to number Israel So the LORD sent pestilence upon Israel: & there fell of Israel, seventy thousand men" (I Chronicles 21:1, 14). Such an appeal by Satan to the pride of life and the love of authority over large numbers reflects his own character as it has been revealed in Paradise Regained, but even more strikingly in Paradise Lost (I, 571 ff.), and Christ refers to its reflection in the Bible. Pride, which has been Satan's own downfall, is the downfall of any whom he can infect with it as he did David; Christ, however, though he is the rightful heir to David's throne, is not to be infected by such an appeal to pride.

Satan is not the magnificent Titan in Paradise Regained that he is in the longer epic, not even when he is addressing his consistory of devils in the middle air. This difference is partly explained by the quite different nature of the two epic poems; the more diffuse epic involves a tremendous panorama of scenery and action throughout the entire solar system and even beyond to Heaven, Hell, and Chaos and therefore requires a colossal figure of strength, while the briefer, quieter epic consists mostly of verbal debate with a minimum of action and change of setting and thus requires a less imposing but more intellectualized Devil. In Paradise Regained Satan is seen more often as the lying sneak that he is because Christ explicitly shows up the fallacies of his reasoning again and again, whereas in Paradise

Lost Satan's misuse of Scripture and reason is more implicit and must be caught by the reader (with help from Milton's occasional comments and from Biblical allusion). The Biblical allusions used by and about Satan in Paradise Regained are more directly related to him in their Scriptural contexts than those in Paradise Lost; there are not so many dramatic identifications of Satan with Bible characters in the shorter epic, but there are many cross references between the Satan of Paradise Regained and his Biblical original. In spite of the differences, however, Milton's Satan is essentially the same in both epics, particularly as he is revealed through allusions to Scripture.

The Son of God

The characterization of the Son in Paradise Lost is quite different from the characterization of Christ in Paradise Regained; Christ is more fully delineated and more vividly realistic as a dramatic character in Paradise Regained. In the longer epic Milton had somewhat the same problem in presenting the Son as a character in the drama as he had in presenting the Father, for the Son was in a pre-incarnate manifestation and was not the man Christ Jesus of the New Testament (although some Biblical allusions used by and about the Son in Paradise Lost identify him with the Jesus of the Gospels). In Paradise Regained, however, Milton had a historical person to present, a person who had been portrayed from four different points of view but with a unified purpose in the four Gospels; also before Milton was a rich Christian tradition about the Christ of the temptation

in the wilderness as a character in a dramatic situation.¹² There was no comparable tradition about the preincarnate Son of God, nor, in the absence of clear Scriptural background, could there have been.

When the Son is first described in Paradise Lost, Book III, the description is in the language of the New Testament and, in keeping with the function of this part of the poem as a theological explanation of what has happened and of what is going to happen, the language is theological.

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, in him all his Father shon
Substantially express'd, and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeerd,
Love without end, and without measure Grace.

(P. L., III, 138-142)

The allusions to the Son as the express image of the Father (Hebrews 1:3), as one of divine compassion (Matthew 9:36), and as one who possesses unmeasured love and grace (John 1:14, 3:34, 13:1) associate him with the doctrinal view of Jesus in the Gospels and Epistles, but they do not aid the reader to visualize him, nor do they give him any distinctive dramatic character. When the Son begins to speak to the Father, however, his intercession on behalf of man and his arguments against God's destroying man are in language that recalls Biblical heroes whose characters illustrate dramatically the abstract qualities of compassion, love, and grace. The Son thanks the Father for his promise that "Man . . . shall find grace" (l. 131) and then

¹²See Pope, Paradise Regained, Chapter II, "The Exalted Man."

asks:

For should Man finally be lost, should Man
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joynd
With his own folly? that be from thee farr,
That farr be from thee, Father, who art Judge
Of all things made, and judgest onely right.

(P. L., III, 150-155)

The plea is like that of Abraham when he interceded for his nephew Lot after God had revealed to him that Sodom, the wicked city in which his nephew lived, was to be destroyed. Abraham said to God:

That be farr from thee, to do after this manner, to slay
the righteous with the wicked, and that the righteous
should be as the wicked, that be far from thee; Shal not
the Judge of all the earth doe right?

(Genesis 18:25)

Abraham pled that Lot, though he had chosen to live in a wicked city among sinful people, might not perish along with the reprobate Sodomites who had corrupted Lot's family; the Son is pleading that man, though he will fall as a result of Satan's fraud and his own folly, may not be destroyed finally with Satan and his followers, who, unlike man, are "self-tempted, self-deprav'd" (III, 130). The situation in the poem is similar to that in the Bible. But more important is the identification of the Son with a human character of the Bible, a character pleading for another human being in a dramatic situation fraught with important consequences, not only for the one being interceded for but also for the reputation of God as one who always does right. Coupled to this plea is the Son's statement of the consequences if God should abolish his creation and unmake, because of the Devil,

what he had made for his own glory:

So should thy goodness and thy greatness both
Be questiond and blasphem'd without defence.

(P. L., III, 165-166)

Although there is no similarity in the language used, the argument here recalls that used by Moses when God was about to destroy the Israelites in the wilderness for their idolatry. Moses argued that God had just delivered these people from Egypt with great signs and wonders; if he should now wipe them out for imitating the idolatrous calf-worship of Egypt, the Egyptians would mock and ask, "For mischiefe did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountaines, and to consume them from the face of the earth?" (Exodus 32:12; cf. Numbers 14:12-19). Both Abraham and Moses¹³ were, among many other things,

¹³Although the connection indicated above between the Son and Moses seems rather tenuous, it is supported by the identification of the Son with Moses which is the dramatic effect of the Son's language when he cries out to the armies of the elect angels,

Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battel rest
.
stand onely and behold
Gods indignation on these Godless poud
By mee.

(P. L., VI, 301-802, 810-12)

Any clear impression of the Son in the war in Heaven is rare; he rides forth in "The Chariot of Paternal Deitie" (VI, 750) like a dazzling, swift-moving vision, an allegorical figure of winged Victory at his right hand. The words "Stand still" not only mark a sudden pause in the whirlwind action; they also gain the effect of associating the Son with Moses and the wonders wrought through him by God at the Red Sea. This allusion has been discussed in the section on language in this chapter (pp. 222-23). It is mentioned here again to show that there is evidence for allusive identification of the Son with Moses in Paradise Lost.

compassionate and understanding intercessors with God on behalf of sinful men; therefore, the association of the Son, by Biblical allusion, with these Old Testament heroes gives more concretely dramatic effect to the characterization. Without the Biblical allusions, as slight as they are, the character of the Son would be as undifferentiated dramatically as that of the Father.

In addition to elements in the dramatic characterization of the Son which connect him to Abraham and Moses, there are allusions which associate the Son with the Jesus of the New Testament. Mention has already been made of some allusions which make clear the theological character of the Son, but the allusions now to be discussed are those which identify the Son of Milton's epic with Jesus Christ of the Gospels.

The Son of God issues forth from Heaven to create the new universe described in general, abstract terms. He is "Girt with Omnipotence, with Radiance crown'd / Of Majestie Divine, Sapience and Love" (P. L., VII, 194-95) and attended by winged chariots from the armory of God; Heaven's gates swing open to let him forth as the "powerful Word . . . coming to create new Worlds" (VII, 208-209). But when the Son speaks, though he is called "th' Omnific Word," his first words are the words of Jesus of Galilee:

Silence, ye troubl'd waves, and thou Deep, peace.

(P. L., VII, 216)

The words remind one of the very human Jesus, so tired that he slept in a storm-tossed ship, who, nevertheless, when he was awakened by

his disciples in their fear, manifested himself as the divine Christ with power over the forces of nature.

And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still. And the winde ceased, and there was a great calme.

(Mark 4:39)

The Miltonic image is appropriately much grander. The gospel story is of Christ in a fishing boat stilling a lake storm while Milton's epic pictures the Son in all the preincarnate glory of the Father speaking in command to the wild and surging "vast immeasurable Abyss" of Chaos. But the fact that Milton's Son speaks in the words of the Galilean emphasizes the essential identity of dramatic character between the eternal Word of the epic (and of the Gospel of John) and the Son of Man of the Synoptic Gospels.

The Son is again identified with the Christ of the New Testament as he converses with Adam just prior to the creation of Eve; his method of testing Adam's reactions is like the method used by the Biblical Christ in testing Philip at the feeding of the five thousand. As he tells Raphael the story of his creation, Adam says that after he had named all the creatures of land, sea, and air, he still felt that there must be somewhere a mate to partake with him of the pleasures of Eden and to provide companionship for him. When Adam expresses his desire for companionship to his Maker, a mildly humorous dramatic interchange occurs between them. God asks Adam why he cannot be happy with one of the creatures he has named or even in solitude since God himself is "alone / From all Eternitie" (VIII, 406). Adam says

that God is perfect within himself and has no need of companionship or propagation and that if God should feel such a need he could elevate one of his creatures to his own level, an act which Adam could not perform. The Son answers Adam's last respectful appeal:

Thus farr to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
 And finde thee knowing not of Beasts alone,
 Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thy self,
 Expressing well the spirit within thee free,
 My Image, not imparted to the Brute,
 Whose fellowship therefore unmeet for thee
 Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike,
 And be so minded still; I, ere thou spak'st,
 Knew it not good for Man to be alone,
 And no such companie as then thou saw'st
 Intended thee, for trial onely brought,
 To see how thou could'st judge of fit and meet.

(P. L., VIII, 437-447)

The trial of Adam is similar to the trial of Philip's faith by Jesus. When Jesus, in the Bible, asks Philip whether he knows somewhere that bread may be bought with which to feed the multitude, John, the writer of the story, says parenthetically, "And this he said to proove him: for he himselfe knew what he would doe" (John 6:6). Although the dialogue between Adam and his Maker is the product of Milton's imagination rather than of close adherence to the Genesis account of Eve's creation and events immediately preceding that creation, it is a dramatically credible and convincing dialogue. And the allusion to the kind of gentle test of his disciple's faith which the Christ of the New Testament administered adds to the warm, understanding, "human" character of the Son as Milton portrays him in the Garden of Eden.

In addition to the establishment of a relationship between

the character of the Son in Paradise Lost as Mediator and as Creator and the Christ of the Gospels, Biblical allusion is used to establish an explicit relationship between the character of the Son as Judge in the epic with the Christ of the Bible. In Milton's account of the judgments upon Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, after all the sentences had been pronounced by the Son, who came as both Judge and Saviour, the Son

disdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the forme of servant to assume,
As when he wash'd his servants feet, so now
As Father of his Familie he clad
Thir nakedness with Skins of Beasts . . .
.
And thought not much to cloath his Enemies.

(P. L., X, 213-217, 219)

The framework for Milton's passage is, of course, that of Genesis: "Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD God make coates of skinnnes and cloathed them" (Genesis 3:21). But the allusions to the New Testament identify the Son and the function in which he is here engaging with the Saviour of the Bible. Paul speaks of Christ as having been in the form of God but having condescended to take "upon him the forme of a servant" and be made "in the likenesse of men" (Philippians 2:7); the particular servitude mentioned is that recounted by John as having occurred at the Last Supper when Judas Iscariot was also present.

He riseth from supper, and layed aside his garments:
and tooke a towell, and girded himselfe. After that
he powreth water into a bason, and beganne to wash the
disciples feete, and to wipe them with the towell where-
with he was girded.

(John 13:4-5)

Hilton refers to the Son as "Father of his Familie" in accord with the Biblical statement ascribed to Christ, "Behold I and the children which God hath given me" (Hebrews 2:13b). The reference to the Son's clothing his enemies is an allusion both to the fact of Judas' having been served in the foot-washing by his Master and to Paul's statement that "when we were enemies, wee were reconciled to God, by the death of his Sonne" (Romans 5:10). The Son is seen in this part of the poem as combining stern judgment, compassionate sympathy for man's plight, and tender concern for man's comfort. It is this latter quality that is most emphasized in the character of the Son by the allusion to the humble service of foot-washing performed by Christ.

Biblical allusions used in portraying the character of Christ in Paradise Regained occur primarily in his own speech, but there are allusions in remarks of Satan about Christ and in one allusion used by both Christ and Satan, Satan contradicts Christ's view of the matter alluded to. From his first speech in the poem, the extraordinary yet modest character of Christ is revealed. Before he speaks, he has been described by Satan and by God the Father as the promised Saviour, the promised Seed of the woman; his simple, modest soliloquy is the more striking, therefore, because of what has preceded it. He feels an inner assurance that he exists for a great purpose and he has often been told this -- by his mother, by those who saw him as a young child, and most recently by John the Baptist -- but he admits that these inner feelings and outer reports ill sort with his present state. His statement about his childhood is phrased to contrast, by allusion,

with the Apostle Paul's familiar saying, "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things" (I Corinthians 13:11).

Christ says,

When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing, all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be publick good.

(P. R., I, 201-204)

The contrast of his childhood with the normal childhood of the great Apostle to the Gentiles heightens the reader's conception of Christ's serious nature and character. The allusion which immediately follows is to a statement made by Christ on the last day of his life on the earth, a statement concerning the purpose for which he came into the world:

my self I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things.

(P. R., I, 203-205)

In answer to Pilate's question, "Art thou a king then?" Jesus answered,

Thou sayest that I am a King. To this end was I borne,
and for this cause came I into the world, that I should
bear witness unto the truth.

(John 18:37)

This eloquent statement of purpose from Christ's lips which occurs in the Bible just before his death is alluded to in Milton's poem just before his temptation, as he reminisces about his childhood. The dramatic force of the allusion is to emphasize not only his high serious-

ness but also the consistency of this seriousness all through his life.

Christ's own view of his experience among the doctors in the Temple is indicative of his quiet modesty. According to his account, he read and so grew into a knowledge of the Scriptures that

e're yet my age
Had measur'd twice six years, at our great Feast
I went into the Temple, there to hear
The Teachers of our Law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own;
And was admir'd by all.

(P. R., I, 209-214)

The story as Luke tells it is that the parents of Jesus, having been lost from him for three days,

found him in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the
Doctours, both hearing them, and asking them questions.
And all that heard him were astonished at his under-
standing and answers.

(Luke 2:46-47)

Satan's allusion to the same Scripture is deliberately exaggerated, for, remarkable as the story is, it is not as extreme as Satan, attempting flattery, suggests. His aim in referring to the childhood experience of Christ is to persuade Christ to be famous by worldly wisdom if not by an earthly throne and kingdom. Christ's addiction to knowledge, Satan says,

by that early action may be judg'd,
When slipping from thy Mothers eye thou went'st
Alone into the Temple; there was found
Among the gravest Rabbies disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses Chair,
Teaching not taught.

(P. R., IV, 215-220)

The Gospel narrative does not indicate that Jesus slipped away from his parents; he stayed behind in Jerusalem when the family group began their journey back to Nazareth, and the fact that his parents lost him was not as attributable to his truancy as to their carelessness in assuming that he was "in the company" somewhere (Luke 2:43-44). Christ's unassuming, modest account is much closer to that of the Bible; he went "to hear" the teachers, not to dispute with them, he was proposing "what might improve" his knowledge first and theirs second, and, though all were astonished at his "understanding and answeres," he is not represented in the Bible as "Teaching not taught." Further, Satan's allusion to "Noses Chair" is a sardonic suggestion of a similarity between Christ's knowledge and the hair-splitting quibbles of the scribes and Pharisees, who preached, but did not practice, the Law (Matthew 23:1-3). Christ's character is enhanced in the light of his own version, as opposed to Satan's, of his experience among the doctors in the Temple; Christ is modestly truthful yet conscious of his own excellence and is the opposite of the know-it-all but do-nothing Pharisees.

As indicated earlier, however, this quiet modesty of Christ in Paradise Regained is not the result of any doubt on his part as to his supernatural birth and high calling. In his opening soliloquy in the poem, he recalls the accounts his mother has given him of the Annunciation with the prophecy that he would sit on David's throne, the supernatural events surrounding his birth, the prophecies of Simeon and Anna. The culmination of all that Mary has taught him

comes when he discovers for himself within the Bible evidence which assures him of his identity.

This having heard, strait I again revolv'd
The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our Scribes
Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
I am.

(P. R., I, 259-263)

The "I am" would stand out in this context as an echo of the declaration of Jesus in the Gospel of John, "Verely, verely, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am" (John 8:58), but the position of the phrase at the beginning of a line following a run-on line with a caesura immediately following the phrase throws it into even more prominence. Both in John and in Paradise Regained the phrase is connected with the Old Testament identification of himself given by Jehovah to Moses when he commanded Moses, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you" (Exodus 3:14). That Christ is conscious not only of his supernatural origin and his divine nature but also of the full responsibility upon him as the Messiah is indicated by his description of the life that lies ahead of him:

Through many a hard assay even to the death,
E're I the promis'd Kingdom can attain,
Or work Redemption for mankind, whose sins
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.

(P. R., I, 263-267)

Christ is consciously identifying himself with the prophecies of the Messiah as a suffering Saviour before a reigning King; the last two lines quoted above refer to Isaiah's statement of the Messiah, "and

the LORD hath layd on him the iniquitie of us all" (Isaiah 53:6b). Knowing himself and his mission as he does (a mission "to our Scribes / Known partly" only, 11. 261-62), Christ is not to be seduced by Satan into believing that there is some short cut or easy way to attain the throne of David and rulership over Israel.

That which aids Christ most in overcoming Satan's temptations to eat of the banquet is this firm knowledge of who and what he is and his quiet submission to his Father's will which is his meat. He has no fear of the sting of famine, "Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts that feed / Mee hungring more to do my Fathers will" (II, 258-60), as Christ puts it. One is reminded of the concern of the disciples of Jesus on one occasion when they could not understand why he was not as hungry as they were; he answered them, "My meat is to doe the will of him that sent mee, and to finish his worke" (John 4: 34). Satan cannot find a chink in such an armor of trust in God. When he seeks to instill impatience in Christ with his philosophy of "the sooner the better," the quiet patience of the Son of God who is willing to await the times and seasons which the Father has ordained baffles Satan completely. Christ says,

All things are best fullfil'd in their due time,
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said:
If of my raigh Prophetic Writ hath told
That it shall never end, so when begin
The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
He in whose hand all times and seasons roul.

(1. R., III, 182-187)

The reference to Truth is to Ecclesiastes (3:1 ff.) but the emphasis

on the fulfillment of God's purposes "in due time" is a recurrent Biblical one (Titus 1:3, I Timothy 2:6, Romans 5:6). And the answer given here by Christ to Satan is almost identical with the one given by Christ to his disciples when they, somewhat impatiently, questioned him about the establishment of his kingdom after his resurrection: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his owne power" (Acts 1:7).

It is in precisely this knowledge of himself and his powers coupled with complete submission to the Father and willingness to wait in patience for the unfolding of divine Providence that the Christ of Paradise Regained is a perfect counterpart to Adam in Paradise Lost. Adam did not keep the knowledge of himself and his role before his consciousness at crucial moments and thus he lost Paradise. Christ, as portrayed in Paradise Regained, knows himself and his role perfectly, and he keeps this knowledge before him constantly in overcoming Satan. Such complete and unquestioning obedience as the Son gives the Father is beyond the understanding of the originator of all rebellion; Satan even suggests that Christ may be only timid about seeking to hasten the fulfillment of the prophesied kingdom because he cannot conceive of such patient endurance springing from more noble motives. Satan says,

The wisest, unexperienc't, will be ever
Timorous and loath, with novice modesty,
(As he who seeking Asses found a Kingdom)
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventrous.

(F. R., III, 240-243)

The reference to Saul (I Samuel 9:20-21), who was so shy that he had to be brought out of hiding to be anointed king over Israel, is dramatically ironic in the light it throws, by contrast, on the character of Christ. Saul was extremely modest, at least in outward appearance, when he became king over Israel, but it was not long before he became a proud, arrogant ruler, whose disobedience to God brought about his personal downfall and the failure of his house to succeed to the throne (I Samuel 15:24-31). Christ, on the other hand, so far from being timid and unhardy, is exhibiting "the better fortitude Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom" (P. L., IX, 31-32). His reason for not seeking a kingdom at present is that he knows God's purposes and is willing to wait for God's own "due time" for setting him on the throne of David. Meanwhile he will suffer patiently and obediently whatever occurs.

The character of Christ in Paradise Regained is summed up in Book IV by a Biblical metaphor applied to Christ by both Milton and Satan. Milton uses a series of similes at the opening of Book IV to show how vain Satan's attempts to corrupt or overcome Christ have been and yet how persistent he continues to be in his efforts. He is like a man who has been outwitted by a more cunning opponent time after time and still "to salve his credit, and for very spight" continues to clash with the same foe to his own deeper shame. He is like a swarm of flies about the winepress in vintage time, who, no matter how many times they are beaten off, return again and

again. Or Satan is like

surging waves [which] against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dash't, the assault renew,
Vain battery, and in froth or bubbles end.

(P. R., IV, 17-19)

Satan himself says to Christ, immediately preceding the scene on the pinnacle of the Temple,

opportunity I here have had
 To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
 Proof against all temptation as a rock
 Of Adamant, and as a Center, firm
 To the utmost of meer man both wise and good,
 Not more.

(F. R., IV, 531-536)

The identification of Christ with a rock is one familiar because of many Biblical references in both Testaments. The text which brings together the Old Testament allusions to God as a rock and to the rock which provided water for the Israelites in the wilderness and applies them to Christ as the New Testament fulfilling antitype of the Old Testament type is I Corinthians 10:4. In this verse Paul says that the Israelites

did all drinke the same spirituall drinke (for they
dranke of that spirituall Rock that followed them:
and that Rocke was Christ).

An even more familiar Scriptural reference to a rock has been a center of controversy for centuries as to whether the rock represents Peter, Christ, or Peter's statement of faith; Milton's own conviction was that it refers to Christ in the personal sense and to Peter's

faith in another sense.¹⁴ That the passages quoted from Paradise Regained allude to this more familiar text is almost certain. When Peter declared his faith that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God, Christ said,

Thou art Peter [πέτρος], and upon this rock [πέτρα] I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it.

(Matthew 16:18)

Satan, like some of his followers described by Jude as "raging waves of the sea, foming out their owne shame" (Jude 13), finds that all his assaults on the Son of God are "Vain battry," yet he is still not willing to concede that Christ is more than the "utmost of meer man." But that he and "Hell . . . in all her gates" (IV, 623-24) cannot prevail against this Rock is proved to him when Christ stands on the highest spire of the Temple while Satan himself falls.

One aspect of Christ's character in Paradise Regained which needs defense, on the basis of Biblical allusion, against critics who see Christ as more like an austere, aristocratic Milton than the

¹⁴Milton wrote, "Nor does the celebrated text, Matt. xvi, 18, 19, which is perverted by the Pope to form the charter of his authority, confer any distinction upon Peter beyond what is enjoyed by other professors of the same faith. For inasmuch as many others confessed no less explicitly than Peter that Christ was the Son of God (as is clear from the narrative of the evangelists), the answer of Christ is not, upon thee Peter, but upon this rock I will build my church, that is, upon this faith which thou hast in common with other believers, not upon thee as an individual; seeing that, in the personal sense of the word, the true rock is Christ, nor is there any other foundation, whence also faith in Christ is called the foundation." ("Of Christian Doctrine," trans. Bishop Sumner, in The Student's Milton [New York, 1947], ed. Frank Allen Patterson, p. 1037.)

they are not as harsh as those he used of the proud and hypocritical (as in Matthew 23:13-33). John records words of Jesus spoken to a Samaritan woman who was questioning him on the Jewish-Samaritan controversy over whether one should worship in Jerusalem or at Mount Horeb, words quite similar to those Milton gives Christ in Paradise Regained (III, 52-53, quoted above): "Yee worship ye know not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews" (John 4:22). Jesus later gave this woman the water of life, but first he was brutally frank with her about her ignorance and sin. Luke represents Jesus as having pronounced a special blessing on those who were not only "disprais'd" but were even hated by the mass of men.

Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproch you, and cast out your name as evill for the Sonne of mans sake Woe unto you when all men shall speake well of you: for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

(Luke 6:22, 26)

Not only has any apparent inconsistency, therefore, between the Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of Milton's poem been exaggerated, but even a passage which has been chosen to show such inconsistency can be demonstrated to be based on the principles of and expressed in the language of the Biblical Christ.

The characterization of the Son of God in Paradise Lost is heightened dramatically by Biblical allusions which associate him with Abraham, Moses, and, especially, the Christ of the New Testament. The characterization of Christ in Paradise Regained is made

consistent with the Christ of the Gospels by Biblical allusions which emphasize both his unassuming, humble patience and his calm, fearless passivity under the hand of his Father, characteristics which are based on his assurance of who he is, what his mission is, and what the limitations of his adversary are.

Adam and Eve

The human actors in Paradise Lost are only two. Other human beings are seen in the major epic but only by means of prophetic vision, and in Paradise Regained the purely human characters do not play important roles. Only our first parents, Adam and Eve, then, will be considered in this discussion of Milton's use of Biblical allusion for dramatic effect in the presentation of character.

That Adam is noble and wise and fit to bear rule over all the creatures of the new world is made evident from the first view of him in Paradise Lost, Book IV, although there the emphasis is on his position of rule over his mate. Adam is described as of admirable stature and appearance; he is the "goodliest man of men since borne / His Sons" (IV, 323-24). His courteous speech to Eve (by which the Devil is informed of the prohibition of the Tree of Knowledge) is tender and loving; but it is when speech and action are in combination in a more dramatic situation that the character of Adam can be clearly seen. The scene in Book IV serves primarily to forward the action: Adam and Eve, by their conversation, give the eavesdropping Satan the information that there is a forbidden tree in the Garden and that Eve has a Narcissus-like attraction for her own beauty. Knowing

these things, Satan can plan his attack. He will tempt them to reject God's "Envious commands" (IV, 524) and he will plant "discontented thoughts, / Vain hopes, vain aimes, inordinate desires" (IV, 807-808) in the mind of Eve while she sleeps. The later scene in which Adam and Eve discuss the beauty of the night and observe their nightly devotions to God, beautiful as it is, does not add much to the reader's conception of the character of either. In Book V, however, when Raphael appears at Adam's bower to warn him of the Devil, the more dramatic situation and the Biblical allusions used bring Adam's character into sharper relief.

Having sped in flight from Heaven to Earth through the "vast Ethereal Skie" and having appeared like a Phoenix to the fowls of Earth's atmosphere, Raphael returns to his own shape as a winged Seraph when he alights in Paradise:

six wings he wore, to shade
His lineaments Divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o're his brest
With regal Ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a Starrie Zone his waste, and round
Skirted his loines and thighs with downie Gold
And colours dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
Shaddowd from either heele with featherd maile
Skie-tinctur'd grain.

(P. L., V, 277-285)

The description of Raphael is drawn from that of the seraphim seen by Isaiah in his vision in the Temple. Above the throne of God, the prophet saw the seraphim: "each one had sixe wings: with twaine he covered his face, and with twain hee covered his feete, and with twaine he did flie" (Isaiah 6:2). As a part of his vision of God's

glory, the seraphim so impressed Isaiah as they ascribed holiness unto the Lord that he cried out, "Woe is me; for I am undone, because I am a man of uncleane lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of uncleane lips" (Isaiah 6:5). But Adam makes no such reaction; he is sinless and does not feel the shame felt by a fallen man in the presence of a heavenly being.¹⁶ Even though Adam is not shamed or awed by the approach of Raphael, however, since he is human, he shows the proper reverence for his heavenly guest and is conscious of the honor being paid him by such a visit. Although Adam's conduct is similar to that of a monarch receiving a very high dignitary representing another realm, that he is a man entertaining an angel is emphasized by Biblical allusion which associates him with Abraham, who entertained angels on the plains of Mamre immediately preceding the divine destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The approach of Raphael

Adam discernd, as in the dore he sat
Of his coole Bowre, while now the mounted Sun
Shot downe direct his fervid Raies to warme
Earths inmost womb, more warmth then Adam needs.

(P. L., V, 299-302)

Adam walks forth to meet his "god-like Guest" with "submiss approach and reverence meek, / As to a superior Nature, bowing low" (ll. 359-

¹⁶Later, after the Fall, when Michael comes to visit Paradise on a sterner mission, Adam's fallen condition is intensified if the contrast between his reception of Raphael and his reception of Michael is recognized. In Book V Adam sees glories such as humbled Isaiah in the dust without fear or inferiority, but when Michael comes, Adam is not able to see the glorious apparition accompanying Michael, for "doubt / And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adams eye" (P. L., XII, 212).

60). The allusions recall the story of Abraham's heavenly visitors.

And the LORD appeared unto him in the plaines of Mamre;
and he sate in the tent doore in the heate of the day;
And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, loe, three
men stood by him: and when he saw them, hee ranne to
meet them from the tent doore, and bowed himselfe
toward the ground.

(Genesis 18:1-2)

Like Abraham, Adam instructs his wife to provide the very best in food and hospitality that is available (V, 313 ff. with Genesis 18:6) and invites his guest to rest in the shade until the heat of the day is past (V, 365 ff. with Genesis 18:4). The dramatic situation in the poem is similar to that in the Bible -- the heavenly visit brings news of blessing (Abraham and Sarah will have a son through whom the world will be blessed, while Adam and Eve will fill the new world with sons) and of impending judgment (on Sodom and Gomorrah for their sin, on man if he heeds the Tempter) -- but more important is the dramatic impact of the association of Adam with Abraham. Without some such association, Adam might continue to be a perfect superman physically, mentally, and spiritually, a character with whom it would be hard to sympathize and whose reality as a character would be difficult to accept. The association with Abraham, however, prepares the way for Adam's very human questions and admissions which are to come later in Books V, VI, VII, and VIII. This initial association of Adam with the Biblical Abraham foreshadows the Adam who pleads with God for a mate in language reminiscent of Abraham's plea for Lot, the Adam who hearkens to his wife as Abraham did when Ishmael

was conceived, but who is finally able by faith to look down through the centuries and see the day of Christ as Abraham saw his day and rejoiced (P. L., XII, 276-77; John 8:56).

Adam is never more dramatically human than when he pleads with his Maker for a mate. He has seen and named all the creatures of earth and yet has not found the companion whom he feels he needs in order to enjoy fully the good things God has provided for him. He asks plaintively how one can enjoy such bounty in solitude, or if one could enjoy it alone, how one could find contentment. God asks how Adam can speak of solitude when the whole realm of nature is filled with living creatures; he even seems to order Adam to be content with one of the beasts for a companion. Adam, though with humble deprecation, continues to implore:

Let not my words offend thee, Heav'nly Power,
My Maker, be propitious while I speak,

(P. L., VIII, 379-380)

and he proceeds to argue eloquently for man's need of a human mate just as the other species have mates of their own "kinde." The language of Adam's plea together with his importunity recall the plea of Abraham that God spare the righteous in the city of Sodom.

Oh let not the Lord be angry, & I will speak: Peradventure there shall thirtie be found there. And [God] said, I will not doe it, if I find thirtie there. And hee said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speake unto the Lord: Peradventure there shalbe twenty . . . Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speake yet but this once: Peradventure ten shalbe found there.

(Genesis 18:30-32)

The association of Adam with Abraham emphasizes the persistence of Adam, a persistence for which God praises him: "Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike, / And be so minded still" (VIII, 443-44). The allusion also raises Adam far above Abraham by contrast. The basis of the allusion is to point up Adam's courtly grace and eminently respectful and self-deprecating air in pleading his own nature (and its contrast with God's nature) as his main argument for being given a mate, just as Abraham respectfully and humbly based his plea on the nature of God ("Shall not the Judge of all the earth doe right?" Genesis 18:25b). When one considers imaginatively the intellectual strain of having to defend one's desires on the basis of one's own nature and that to the Maker himself, not to mention the delicate balance Adam maintains (as Abraham does) in his courtesy, which never becomes impudence even in insistence, and recognizes that Adam's plea is based partly on an appeal to the nature of God himself, one can appreciate the praise of C. S. Lewis for the poise and self-assurance of the Patriarch of the Race.¹⁷ The Biblical allusion emphasizes both the similarities and the contrasts between Adam's importunity before his Maker and Abraham's before the Lord. The contrast that raises Adam above Abraham is the straightforwardness of the former. Abraham uses his respectful introductory phrases repetitiously as a means of reducing little by little the number of

¹⁷A Preface to *Paradise Lost*, pp. 114-15.

righteous that must be found in Sodom for the city to be spared instead of making his real wish frankly known: that Lot and his family be spared. Adam, on the other hand, is every bit as respectful and reverent as Abraham in addressing himself to God, but he is more straightforward in making one clear request: a human consort to partake of the pleasures of Paradise with him.

Book VIII closes with Raphael's warning to Adam to put God first and take heed lest passion sway him to do what otherwise his free will would not allow. He has warned Adam to weigh himself with Eve and value himself properly so that Eve "will acknowledge . . . her Head" (VIII, 574) in him. The admonitions of Raphael to "Be strong" and "stand fast" indicate that the supreme test for Adam is to come soon.

Book IX opens with the statement that the poet's notes must be changed to tragic:

No more of talk whsre God or Angel Guest
With Man, as with his Friend, familiar us'd
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast.

(P. L., IX, 1-4)

The lines recall the association of Adam with Abraham. Adam is no longer to enjoy the relationship with angel guests that Abraham, the "Friend of God" (James 2:23), enjoyed. He is no more to plead with God as Abraham pled with him. No further opportunity of enjoying a meal with heavenly visitors will be provided for Adam. The Fall is imminent, and the way it will come about is soon evident.

In spite of Raphael's warnings about his relationship with Eve, Adam gives in to her request to be allowed to work separately during the day. This is the very thing Satan has wished for but not dared to hope for (IX, 421-24), and the deception and sin of Eve is soon an accomplished fact. While Eve is exulting in the forbidden fruit and even considering whether she should withhold the fruit from her husband to render herself equal or perhaps even superior, Adam is awaiting her return.

Adam the while
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest Flours a Garland to adorne
Her Tresses, and her rural labours crown
As Reapers oft are wont thir Harvest Queen.

(P. L., IX, 838-842)

The simile presents a happy rural picture as Adam, promising great joy to his thoughts of Eve's return, weaves the garland; but the passage is heavy with dramatic irony. Eve's "rural labours" have led her to pluck the forbidden fruit and it is appropriate that Adam crown her "Tresses" with a garland as a symbol of such labors, for those very tresses were explicitly designated as the symbol of her subjection to her husband in Book IV. Adam is the one who is responsible for having lapsed in his duty as her authority, and he should be the one to crown her day's labor. The irony is deepened when the Biblical idea of one reaping the results of one's errors and sins is remembered: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (Galatians 6:7). Adam is a reaper with a vengeance and his "Harvest Queen" is soon discovered

to have brought him a bitter harvest which astounds him when he realizes the trespass she has committed. Yet his own faulty view of himself and of woman which has led to this scene is still with him and leads him to choose to die with Eve rather than live without her. His first words upon learning of her sin are not to her but to himself.

O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all Gods Works, Creature in whom excell'd
Whatever can to sight or thought be formd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!

(P. L., IX, 896-899)

Thus putting the woman even above himself as "best" of God's works, Adam puts his love for her above his love for God and resolves to die with her before he ever speaks to her.

When Adam does speak, it is to discuss the possibility that they may not die after all. He reasons that God would be loath to abolish man,

least the Adversary
Triumph and say; Fickle their State whom God
Most Favors, who can please him long?

(P. L., IX, 947-949)

This would be "Matter of scorne, not to be given the Foe" says Adam (l. 951). Here, just before the Fall, Adam is using his native instinct and powers of reasoning to determine what God's nature is like, and, as in the case of his discussion of the nature of God when he asked for a mate (at least the discussion was uncorrected by God), Biblical allusions indicate that he is right. Adam's supreme intelligence, which enabled him to name the animals, birds, and fish, helps

him to know by reason what was later to be revealed supernaturally about God. Moses, in a song in which he speaks in the person of God, says:

I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men: Were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy, lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely, and lest they should say, Our hand is high, the LORD hath not done all this.

(Deuteronomy 32:26-27)

Again Moses pled with God on behalf of Israel, "Now if thou shalt kill all this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will speake, saying, Because the LORD was not able to bring the people into the land which hee sware unto them, therefore hee hath slaine them in the wilderness" (Numbers 14:15-16).

Adam senses and expresses in language allusive to these Scriptures that God is not going to allow the Devil "Matter of scorne" against him, but he cannot foresee the misery and pain that his sin and the consequent "long day's dying" will bring into the world for the ages before the Son destroys the power of sin and death. The latter vision awaits his repentance and the visit of Michael. Meanwhile the dramatic effect of the allusions to the Bible in Adam's pre-Fall discussion is to increase the tragedy of his fall by emphasizing the intellectual powers he enjoys, even to the extent of coming to Biblically accurate conclusions about the nature of God and what God is likely to do once Adam and Eve have both fallen.

Once Eve has eaten of the Tree of Knowledge, it becomes an

idol, a substitute for the God she has worshipped; she addresses the Tree as "Sovran, vertuous, precious of all Trees" (IX, 795), speaks of her purpose to return each morning to offer praise and song to the Tree, and as she turns to leave, she bows in "low Reverence" (IX, 835). Once Adam has partaken with Eve, he too has praise for "this vertuous Tree" (IX, 1033). His shockingly jocular statement that

if such pleasure be
In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,
For this one Tree had bin forbidden ten,

(P. L., IX, 1024-1026)

is followed by a suggestion that is in language suggestive of a Biblical situation involving idolatry and sinful levity. Adam's invitation to Eve is

But come, so well refresh't, now let us play,
As meet is, after such delicious Fare.

(P. L., IX, 1027-1028)

The allusion is to the idolatry of Israel. After the Israelites had promised to keep whatever commandments God would give them, Moses went up into Mount Sinai to receive the decalogue. While he was communing with God, Aaron led the people to make a golden calf and to worship it.

And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sate downe to eate and drinke, and rose up to play.

(Exodus 32:6)

The Old Testament incident was judged worthy by Paul of incorporation into a warning in one of his epistles:

Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sate downe to eate & drinke, and rose up to play.

(I Corinthians 10:7)

The lustful and salacious play of Adam and Eve is as "meet" (as Adam says) to follow their forbidden feast, connected as it is with their idolatrous attitude toward the Tree, as was the play of the Israelites following their idolatrous festivities around the golden calf. Idolatry, removing, as it does, God from the center of the spiritual consciousness and substituting some thing, leads to thoughtless frivolity and to the degradation of human dignity; what has been lovely and tender between Adam and Eve has become animal desire. Another Biblical allusion emphasizes the sinfulness of what has been a holy relationship between Adam and Eve.

There they thir fill of Love and Loves disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the Seale,
The solace of their sin.

(P. L., IX, 1042-1044)

The allusion associates Eve with the harlot warned against in Proverbs, who says to a foolish young man, "Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning: let us solace ourselves with loves" (Proverbs 7: 18). The guiltiness of the "play" of Adam and Eve is reinforced when Adam is compared to Samson, who "rose . . . from the Harlot-lap / Of Philistian Dalilah, and wak'd / Shorn of his strength" (IX, 1061-63). This Biblical simile sums up strikingly what the other Biblical allusions have been suggesting about the change in Adam's character. Adam has fallen much lower than Samson because he was

higher to start with; the first of men in physique, intelligence, and devotion to God, Adam has become a lecherous, low-minded cracker of jokes and an idolater as a result of disobedience, and Biblical allusions intensify his dramatic loss of stature.

The formerly placid mental state of Adam and Eve is now disrupted by sin.

Anger, Hate,
Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord . . . shook sore
Thir inward State of Mind, calme Region once
And full of Peace, now tost and turbulent.

(P. L., IX, 1123-1126)

As described later in Book X, Adam sees miseries growing around him in Eden. The poet describes him, however, as having "worse felt within, / And in a troubl'd Sea of passion tost" (X, 717-18). The two passages from the epic show that Adam and Eve, in their inward mental state as fallen creatures, fit Isaiah's description of the wicked.

But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it
cannot rest, whose waters cast up myre and dirt.
There is no peace, sayth my God, to the wicked.

(Isaiah 57:20-21)

But it is not only Adam's fall into the depths of sin and despair that is emphasized by Biblical allusions; his development to self-insight, involving an admission that he is most at fault, and to a spirit of genuine love towards Eve is intensified by allusion to Scripture. Touched by Eve's penitence and willingness to take all God's wrath on her own head, Adam's progress toward compassionate

human understanding is underlined by Biblical allusion when he says to Eve:

But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but strive
In offices of Love, how we may light'n
Each others burden in our share of woe.

(P. L., X, 958-961)

The allusion is to Paul's advice, "Beare ye one anothers burdens; and so fulfill the law of Christ" (Galatians 6:2).

One of the most striking dramatic characterizations of Adam by the use of Biblical allusion is that in Book XI when his words associate him with his future son, Cain. Told by Michael that he must leave Paradise, Adam submits to God's will, but says,

This most afflicts me, that departing hence,
As from his face I shall be hid, deprivd
His blessed count'nance; here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he voutsaf'd
Presence Divine, and to my Sons relate;
On this Mount he appeerd, under this Tree
Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd:
So many grateful Altars I would reare
Of grassie Terfe, and pile up every Stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memorie,
Or monument to Ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling Gumms & Fruits and Flours.

(P. L., XI, 315-327)

Not only do Adam's words "from his face I shall be hid" link him with Cain, who lamented when God drove him out from his presence, "from thy face shall I be hid" (Genesis 4:14), but also Adam's expressed purpose to build an altar on which to offer "Fruits and Flours" associates him with the Cain who "brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto

the LORD" (Genesis 4:3) and had his offering rejected. Abel's sacrifice of a lamb was accepted, but Cain's offering of fruits displeased the Lord. This allusion to Scripture emphasizes Adam's spiritual ignorance (as contrasted with his spiritual wisdom before the Fall) before Michael reveals the future to him. Adam, like his sons, needs revelation rather than reason to know how to approach God, and he is later shown by Michael the enormous load of sin and guilt to be accumulated by his offspring and expiated by Christ's sacrifice on the cross (XII, 416-17).

Before Michael's revelation Adam is like Cain, ready to worship in what seems a rational way, and he is prone to place too much importance on his geographical location, as though God were not omnipotent and omnipresent. After the revelation from Michael, Adam is like Abraham again, whose faith was such that Christ said of him, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad" (John 8:56). When Adam first catches a glimpse of the unfolding purpose of God to bring Messiah the Saviour into the world through the seed of Abraham, he says:

now first I finde
 Mine eyes true op'ning, and my heart much eas'd,
 Erwhile perplext with thoughts what would becom
 Of mee and all Mankind; but now I see
 His day, in whom all Nations shall be blest.

(P. L., XII, 273-277)

After having been identified with Abraham in Book V by Biblical allusion, having had the depths of his fall instensified by allusions culminating in a simile associating him with Samson in Book IX,

having been identified with the false worship of Cain in Book XI, Adam is once again associated with Abraham as a man of faith in Book XII.

Finally, Adam stands in clear contrast to Satan at the close of Paradise Lost. Through the visions Michael has given him, Adam says, he has learned that "suffering for Truths sake / Is fortitude to highest victorie, / And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life" (XII, 569-71), and he adds that he has been taught this by the example of Christ the Redeemer. Michael's answer is, "This having learnt, thou hast attained the summe / Of wisdom; hope no higher" (XII, 575-76). Before iniquity was found in him and he was cast out from God, Lucifer was told, "Thou sealest up the summe, full of wisdom, and perfect in beautie" (Ezekiel 28:12). Satan began with the sum of wisdom which Adam has just attained: love and obedience to God, no matter what that may involve, even suffering and death. Selfish pride, jealousy, and envy of the Messiah (according to Paradise Lost) brought about the corruption of Satan's wisdom and an irrevocable fall from the favor of God; yet, now that Satan has successfully caused man's fall from God's favor, man has been restored through the Messiah, and it is love and emulation of the Messiah as Redeemer that has brought Adam to attain the sum of wisdom from which Satan fell. Although Satan caused Adam to lose Paradise, he has brought about events which, as overruled by Providence, give Adam and his posterity the possibility of a Paradise within, "happier farr."

As the reader's first view of Adam in Paradise Lost is one

in which Adam's dominant role of authority is emphasized, partly by Biblical allusion, Eve's yielding, voluntary submissiveness and subjection to Adam are symbolized in her physical appearance and by Biblical allusion.

Shee as a vail down to the slender waste
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Disshaveled, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the Vine curls her tendrils, which impli'd
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
And by her yeilded, by him best receivd,
Yeilded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet reluctant amorous delay.

(P. L., IV, 304-311)

There is allusion here to I Corinthians 11, which makes women's long hair symbolic of their subjection to men; another Biblical allusion in this passage, which has been hinted at earlier in the poem (V, 215-19) and is to be picked up and repeated in a later passage, is the comparison of the woman to a vine. In the simile quoted above, it is the hair which is compared to the vine; but long hair is the woman's symbol of her husband's authority over her (I Corinthians 11:10), and the vine-like quality of the hair suggests the dependent submissiveness of the woman. In Book IX when Eve broaches her ill-fated plan that she and Adam work separately in their task of dressing the Garden, her reference to the vine is an ironic commentary on her first attempt at independently suggesting what her husband should do.

Let us divide our labours, thou where choice
Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
The Woodbine round this Arbour, or direct
The clasping Ivie where to climb, while I
In yonder Spring of Roses intermixt

With Myrtle, find what to redress till Noon.

(P. L., IX, 214-219)

The vine has already been connected in the poem with Eve's subjection to her husband; the allusion here is to the psalmist's simile: "Thy wife shalbe as a fruitfull Vine by the sides of thine house" (Psalm 128:3). The dramatic irony lies in Eve's suggestion that Adam go teach the woodbine and the ivy where and how to climb when she is the main vine that it is Adam's duty and responsibility to direct; she most needs him with her (l. 215). The "Patriarch of Mankinde" ends by telling his vine to go her own way, warning her to do her part, for "God towards thee hath done his part" (l. 375) -- but he who was made for dominion has not done his part, a lapse of responsible authority which he is to regret when the Judge reminds him that bearing rule was his "part / And person" had he known himself aright (X, 155-56).

Another Biblical allusion which is repeated as a means of characterizing Eve highlights her tenderness and sensitivity while it associates her with a sinful woman of the Bible. Language used to describe Eve before the Fall (but only after her dream) and after the Fall (but only after she has become conscious of the enormity of her guilt) associates her with the penitent sinner, Mary Magdalene. The Biblical statement is:

And, behold, a woman in the citie, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sate at meat in the Pharisees house, brought an Alabaster boxe of ointment, and stood at his feet, behinde him, weeping, and began to wash his feet with teares, and did wipe them with

the haïres of her head, and kissed his feet, and
anoïnted them with the oÿntment.

(Luke 7:37-38)

In Book V, after Eve has been comforted by Adam, the poet says:

So cheard he his fair Spouse, and she was cheard,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her haire.

(P. L., V, 129-131)

These tears are the gracious signs of "sweet remorse" (l. 134) and the wiping of them with her hair is enough to foreshadow dramatically the character development of Eve to the point where (after she has really, not just in a dream, sinned and suffered) she will experience genuine remorse and repentance over her sin against God and her husband. After the Fall, in spite of the harshest things Adam can think of to say to her, Eve will not be repulsed in her efforts to make peace with him. She

with Tears that ceas'd not flowing,
And tresses all disorderd, at his feet
Fell humble, and imbracing them, besaught
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

(P. L., X, 910-913)

Milton's description of the scene makes it similar to the Biblical scene; Eve, like the sinful woman in Luke, is behind Adam as she clasps his feet, her tears flowing, her hair in disorder. Since Adam sinned against God only and Eve has sinned against both God and Adam, she is willing to ask that all the punishment for their sin be transferred to her alone: "Mee mee onely just object of his ire" (X, 936). Like the sinful woman at the feet of Jesus, Eve will not cease weeping

until Adam has made peace with her. Magdalene was rewarded by the words of Jesus, "Go in peace" (Luke 7:50), and Eve persists until Adam relents with "peaceful words" and upraises her (X, 946).

Hilton's Eve is not to be judged too harshly. She is first in the transgression in both Paradise Lost and the Bible, but in the epic she is also first in a penitent attitude. Although she is identified with Mary Magdalene in at least two allusions, it should be remembered that it is Mary as the penitent sinner, receiving the forgiveness of her Lord, that is revealed in the Bible, not Mary the sinner. And, as Adam himself admits, Eve was the "infirm Sex" committed to his care and exposed by him to the Tempter (X, 956-57). The final portrait of Eve is in accord with her position of loving subjection to her husband; she no longer desires to part from him even for a brief time. When she laments the necessity of leaving Paradise, her "Native Soile" (XI, 270), Michael reminds her that, although she was created in Paradise, her husband is properly her native soil: she was taken out of him and for him. At the close of the poem, Eve, the repentant sinner, now at peace with God and with Adam, can say to her husband:

In mee is no delay; with thee to goe,
Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to mee
Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art banisht hence.
This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence; though all by mee is lost,
Such favour I unworthie am voutsaft,
By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore.

(P. L., XII, 615-623)

The dramatic elements of setting, action, language, and character have been seen in this and the preceding chapter as enhanced in effectiveness through Milton's use of the Bible in his epic poems. The purpose Milton expressed in his Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelaty of painting out and describing "whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within . . . with a solid and treatable smoothness" was accomplished in both his "diffuse" and his "brief model" epic by "industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs" and "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who . . . sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases";¹⁸ and that much of Milton's "select reading" was in the Scriptures is attested by the manifold use he made of specific references and allusions. That Biblical allusions would be recognized and responded to Milton could be as sure of as (or, considering the "fit audience" for whom he wrote, more sure of than) the Elizabethan dramatists before him who had made allusions to Scripture an integral part of their dramatic art.

¹⁸Patterson, The Student's Milton, pp. 525-26.

CHAPTER FIVE

EPIC SUBLIMITY, VARIETY, AND UNITY THROUGH BIBLICAL ALLUSION

Thus far in this study, Milton's use of the Bible in his epic poems has been seen as aiding in the poetic communication of truth and reality to the reader, as giving the reader pleasure and instruction through his recognition of allusions to the original, and Latin, Scriptures as well as to the English Bible, and as adding dramatic power to the already dramatically forceful portrayal of setting, action, language, and character. All of these uses of the Bible and their effects are, of course, fused into the epic structure as integral parts of the two poems; in this thesis the uses of the Bible have been artificially extracted for purposes of analysis just as parts of a great painting might be microscopically examined by means of photographs of small sections in detail. It is hoped that the detailed analysis may enable the reader to return to the poems with a greater appreciation of them as unified wholes, as epics, than he would have without this analysis. The present chapter, then, is dedicated to showing how Milton makes his use of the Bible contribute to and heighten each epic as a thematic unity in spite of, and even because of, the diversity and variety involved in his Biblical allusions and how Milton maintains thematic unity from

one epic to the other.¹

Since Paradise Lost is more clearly in the traditional epic genre than Paradise Regained, the former involves more uses of Scripture in accord with epic conventions than the latter; peculiarly epic uses of Biblical allusion in Paradise Regained are, in fact, nonexistent. There are, however, phrases reiterated throughout both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained which give unity of theme to the individual epics and which also make the connections between the major and the minor epic more vital and unifying. Each poem is a complete whole while the two share a common theme. But before pursuing this point further, let us recall some of the elements of Paradise Lost previously discussed.

It is obvious that many of the passages from Paradise Lost discussed earlier, although they are dealt with under various headings as to Biblical allusions, have their roots in epic necessity and convention: the supernatural machinery of angels and demons, the scenes in Heaven and Hell, the dialogues between persons of the Godhead, the space devoted to the speeches of heroic characters (Books II, V, and VI), the long catalogues of names, the beginning in medias res with the later recounting of earlier events of the story, the description of mighty antagonists in single combat (Abdiel and Satan

¹Milton's epics have structural unity in the Aristotelian sense, including one main action with a beginning, middle, and end; the term "unity" as it is being used in this chapter, however, is not unity in the Aristotelian sense but simply unity of theme.

in Book VI), the maintenance of a highly dignified and serious style, and the repetition of certain epithets, phrases, and syntactical formulas.² This last epic characteristic of reiteration will be discussed later. First there is a need to examine perhaps the most characteristic mark of the epic style: the use of the figure of speech known as the epic simile, a figure so successfully employed by Milton that he attains a sublimity of high seriousness and at the same time a unity in variety rarely attained by any other writer. As one scholar has said,

To decorate his verse in the Homeric manner and to lift the imagination to embrace a whole age of history, Milton uses figures which have come to designate a type because of their sublimity, a type which is known as the "Miltonic figure." Milton's power to form expansive similes of the epic type testifies to the application of Longinus' definition of the sublime as "a certain excellence and perfection of language."³

Milton's sublime, elevated style has often been praised and has sometimes been explained. The critic quoted above sees Milton's unflagging sublimity as primarily the result of his having followed classical and Renaissance concepts of the epic; C. S. Lewis sees it as, to a great extent, the result of abrupt jolts from one idea to another (such as T. S. Eliot might provide without transitions) provided with

²For example, God is "Eternal Father" in P. L., V, 246; VI, 96; VII, 136-37, 516-17; X, 32, 68. "So saying" appears as a participial transition in P. L., IV, 536, 797; V, 82, 331; VI, 189; VIII, 300, 644; IX, 179, 780, 834, 990; X, 272, 410. Biblical phrases reiterated will be discussed later.

³Ivar Lou Myrth, The Evolution and Practice of Milton's Epic Theory (Nashville, 1942), p. 52.

apparently smooth logical and syntactical connections which push the reader forward while affecting him with "subterranean" meaning;⁴ Marianna Woodhull sees it as an almost inevitable result of Milton's having chosen the epic form rather than the form of tragedy;⁵ and E. M. W. Tillyard sees it as largely the result of Milton's exercise of and belief in the human will "stretched and sustained to the utmost" to govern a large amount of material by a "powerful predetermination."⁶ It seems clear, as these critics would doubtless admit, that the complete explanation for Milton's sublimity lies in no one

⁴A Preface to Paradise Lost (London, 1942), pp. 44-50.

⁵The Epic of Paradise Lost (New York, 1907), p. 41 and *passim*.

⁶The English Epic and Its Background (London, 1954), p. 4 ff. In attempting to lay aside any discussion of form and to define "the spirit of the epic," Professor Tillyard lists four essential qualities which a work must have in order to be considered an epic: (1) high seriousness and high quality, involving the use of words in a distinguished way; (2) "amplitude, breadth, inclusiveness" -- a diffusion which is the opposite of intense concentration in a short space, as in tragedy; (3) "control commensurate with the amount included," with all material "governed by a powerful predetermination"; (4) a choric expression of the "feelings of a large group living in or near [the writer's] times." All four of these qualities are present in P. L. to an eminent degree, but, Tillyard feels, the second and fourth qualities are lacking in P. R. (p. 446). But even in terms of Tillyard's definition, P. R. cannot be denied a choric quality in the light of Elizabeth Marie Pope's Paradise Regained: The Tradition and the Poem (Baltimore, 1947), which shows conclusively that Milton is expressing essentially the serious convictions of a multitude of thoughtful men in or near his own times. As for the second quality Tillyard lists (he excludes Job as an epic for lacking this quality as well as excluding P. R.), whether or not P. R. has it depends on the degree of "amplitude, breadth, inclusiveness" one requires. That Tillyard requires more than Milton's minor epic has should not prevent others from requiring less, and P. R. seems to have a valid claim to the title of epic even on Tillyard's terms.

of these attempts at explanation but in a combination of all of them with something more. The something more could probably be assigned no satisfactory name but might be called the indomitable strength and dignity of the spirit of John Milton. To these partial explanations of his epic sublimity in Paradise Lost, however, may be added one more demonstrable factor: Milton's use of the Bible as a source of and a supplement to the traditional epic simile, a use which goes far towards explaining how his epic similes have come to be thought of as a type known as the "Miltonic figure."

Biblical Epic Similes

The first epic simile in Paradise Lost is used to characterize and give a visual image of the tremendous figure of Satan as he lies on the burning lake of Hell, expressing to Beelzebub his defiance of the God who has cast him out of Heaven.

Thus Satan talking to his nearest Mate
 With Head up-lift above the wave, and Eyes
 That sparkling blaz'd, his other Parts besides
 Prone on the Flood, extended long and large
 Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
 As whom the Fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,
Briarion or Typhon, whom the Den
 By ancient Tarsus held, or that Sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream:
 Him haply slumbring on the Norway foam
 The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff,
 Deeming some Island, oft, as Sea-men tell,
 With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind
 Moors by his side under the Lee, while Night
 Invests the Sea, and wished Morn delays:
 So stretcht out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay
 Chain'd on the burning Lake.

The simile expands from swift hints at the size of Satan by allusion to the Titans, Briarios, the hundred-handed giant, and the monster Typhon to the Biblical Leviathan, hugest of all sea creatures; then a complete picture is given of sailors in a small skiff, unsuspectingly moored to the side of this terrible sea serpent, unable to see and wishing for daylight, and the reader almost loses sight of Satan to whom the simile refers. But the words "So stretcht out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay / Chain'd" return the reader abruptly to the flashing, hate-filled eyes and colossal bulk of Satan "Prone on the Flood." Even without recognition of the Biblical allusions in this passage, definite effects are gained: Satan is visualized as of tremendous size, and although he lies chained on the lake of fire, the "Head up-lift" and fiery eyes make one decidedly uneasy in his presence. The uneasiness is increased to fearful apprehension by the image of the seamen with their anchor fixed in a monster's "skaly rind" while they await daylight -- at what moment will the beast arouse himself and kill them all? But then the reader is quickly reminded that Satan is the subject and that, terrifying as he is, he is chained to be released only by the "high permission of all-ruling Heaven" (I, 212). Thus there is here, on the surface, a delicate balance between feelings of fear at the size and potential danger of Satan and feelings of security in the knowledge that "th' Omnipotent" is he who cast out "th' infernal Serpent" (I, 34, 39). Recognition of the Biblical allusion, however, deepens and broadens the effects mentioned while it elevates into Scriptural truth a

scene which might be merely mythology and folklore.

The Leviathan is mentioned several times in the Bible. The primary allusion in Milton's simile is most likely to the prophecy of Isaiah:

In that day the LORD with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the Sea.

(Isaiah 27:1)

That is, even in the figure of speech used to magnify the power and size of Satan, there is allusion to the Biblical promise of his eventual defeat as the "crooked serpent." There is allusion also to the questions God asked of Job when he wished to humble him; Job's insignificance in comparison to God is emphasized by reference to Leviathan, created and controlled by God but feared by Job.

Canst thou draw out Leviathan with an hooke? or his tongue with a corde which thou lettest downe? shall not one bee cast downe even at the sight of him? His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close scale He beholdeth all high things; he is a king over all the children of pride.

(Job 41:1, 9, 15, 34)

Even the image of the sailors and their precarious condition is in language allusive to the Biblical experience of Paul and other disciples in the terrible storm which wrecked their Rome-bound prison ship. Paul knew that they had to be "cast upon a certain Iland" (Acts 27:26); then "about midnight, the shipmen deemed that they drew neere to some countrey" (Acts 27:27b) and, afraid the ship would run aground, "they cast foure ancles out of the sterne, and wished

for the day" (Acts 27:29). If the language reminiscent of the Bible is recognized and the angel's promise to Paul during the storm that no lives would be lost (Acts 27:22-24) is remembered, there is, even in the suspense of the image of sailors moored to the side of a dangerous monster, assurance of God's providence and protection.⁷ The simile gives variety by momentarily taking the reader away from the burning lake to the "Norway foam," away from the Arch-fiend to a slumbering, but potentially deadly, sea monster, away from the "darkness visible" of Hell to the pitch-black darkness of the sea at

⁷T. S. Eliot, in a lecture read before the British Academy in March, 1947 (reprinted in Milton Criticism: Selections from Four Centuries, ed. James Thorpe [New York, 1950], pp. 327-28), says that while he is not happy about certain matters of detail in the simile under discussion, he thinks that so much "extraneous matter" is happily introduced. "Any writer, straining for images of hugeness, might have thought of the whale, but only Milton could have included the anecdote of the deluded seamen without our wanting to put a blue pencil through it. We nearly forget Satan in attending to the story of the whale; Milton recalls us just in time. Therefore the diversion strengthens, instead of weakening, the passage." Mr. Eliot, however, sees in such combinations of "extraneous matter" in Milton's similes "a kind of inspired frivolity, an enjoyment by the author in the exercise of his own virtuosity, which is a mark of the first rank of genius." The present writer believes that the discussion of the Biblical allusions in the Leviathan simile included above demonstrates that none of the matter is really extraneous, but that out of the variety comes sublimity through the Biblical overtones of God's inevitable victory over evil and thematic unity because of the allusions to a Bible passage emphasizing God's provident care for his people in distress. Milton is, perhaps, enjoying his own virtuosity in "a kind of inspired frivolity"; the indications of the Biblical allusions are, however, that Milton is also going seriously about his business of asserting eternal providence and justifying the ways of God to men in this Leviathan simile -- and even in the "anecdote of the deluded seamen." Perhaps, without his realizing it, Mr. Eliot's real reason for not wanting to "put a blue pencil through it" is his own subconscious recognition of the Biblical echoes of Milton's language.

night,⁸ away from the fallen angels to a group of human beings who are anxiously wishing for the morning which seems so slow in coming. But when the reader is brought back again to the setting of Paradise Lost, especially if he has recognized the Biblical allusions, he is both more aware of Satan's terrible nature and frightful possibilities as the enemy of man and more conscious of God's overruling control and providence than he would be without the expanded heroic figure of the Leviathan.⁹

⁸In the lecture cited in the note immediately above, Mr. Eliot speaks of the inappropriateness of "night-founder'd Skiff" (I, 204) because "A foundered skiff could not be moored, to a whale or to anything else" (Thorpe, Milton Criticism, p. 327). But the skiff is not foundered (filled and sinking) in water but in night. The use of "night-founder'd" as an adjective here intensifies the helplessness of the seamen, so bound by darkness that their skiff is unnavigable, their location unknown.

⁹Leviathan is mentioned again in Raphael's account of creation:

there Leviathan
Hugest of living Creatures, on the Deep
Stretcht like a Promontorie sleeps or swimmes,
And seems a moving Land.

(P. L., VII, 412-415)

After the simile in Book I, the reader cannot fail to connect this image with Satan "stretcht out huge" on the lake of fire. Following the description of Leviathan in Book VII, Milton describes the "Eagle and the Stork" building their "Eyries" on cliffs and cedar tops (VII, 423-24) and "the prudent Crane" steering on her annual voyage (VII, 430-31). The allusions are to Job 39:27-28, which verses emphasize man's ignorance of the instincts guiding animals and birds, and to Jeremiah 8:7, which contrasts the instinctive knowledge of the seasons possessed by the stork, the crane, etc., with man's ignorance of God's judgments. Even amidst the beautiful poetry describing the creation of fish and fowl, therefore, Milton includes forebodings of man's fall through Biblical allusions recalling Satan, the Serpent, and contrasting animal instinct with man's free will.

As Satan, by divine permission, rears himself from the lake, makes his way to the "Beach / Of that inflamed Sea" (I, 300), and seeks to arouse his legions, he sees them lying on the infernal waves,

Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades
High overarch't imbowr; or scatterd sedge
Afloat, when with fierce Winds Orion arm'd
Hath vext the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves orethrew
Busiris and his Memphian Chivalrie,
While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd
The Sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating Carkases
And broken Chariot Wheels, so thick bestrown
Abject and lost lay these, covering the Flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.

(P. L., I, 302-313)

Again there is the swift, glancing comparison suddenly expanded into a picture complete in itself: the not unpleasant image of gently falling and floating autumnally colored leaves on Italian brooks shifts to one of violently scattered brown sedge on the waters of the Red Sea, and suddenly there, tossed on the waves of that sea, are the dead bodies and broken chariots of the Egyptians who pursued the Israelites and were destroyed by God. The allusion is to the story of God's miraculous opening of the Red Sea to allow the Israelites to pass through on dry land and of his destruction of the Egyptians (called "perfidious" because of Pharaoh's broken promise to let Israel leave Egypt in peace) when they attempted to follow the route of God's people through the sea.

And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the Sea, even all Pharaohs horses, his charrets, and his horsemen . . . the LORD took off their charet wheelles, that they drave them heavily: So that the

Egyptians said, Let us flee and the LORD overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.

(Exodus 14:23, 25a, 27b, 30)

The shift from the image of leaves which have fallen in the natural course of things to sedge torn up along the sea coast by fierce winds to the "floating Carkases / And broken Chariot Wheels" of the enemies of God's people emphasizes the "hideous change" which has taken place in these "Angel Forms" (I, 301). The change is underscored by Satan's reference to his legions as "the Flowr of Heav'n, once yours, now lost" (I, 316) and his sarcastic allusion to their taking their ease in slumbering now in Hell as they formerly did in the "Vales of Heav'n" (I, 321). But the peculiar aptness of the explicit analogy between Satan's host and the armies of Pharaoh comes home to the reader later in the poem when Biblical allusions in Book VI identify Satan and his rebels with Pharaoh and his troops and the Son of God and his elect angels with Moses and the Israelites; the effect is to stress the omnipotence and supreme control of God above and behind the action of the poem as it is in the Bible story (P. L., VI, 788-815 with Exodus 14:8, 13-14; VI, 860-62, 878-79 with Exodus 14:22-28). In Book I, we are in medias res and the epic simile gains its effect in elevating God, the Victor over these demons, by showing the abject and confused condition into which the demons have fallen; but later, when allusions are made to the same Biblical passage in Raphael's narration in Book VI of events preceding, chronologically,

the action of Book I, Biblical allusions which have already added sublimity and variety are seen to add unity by the repetition of the theme of God's sovereignty, omnipotence, and justice by which he brings good out of evil and punishes the perpetrators of the evil.¹⁰

In answer to Satan's call, "Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n" (I, 330), an ironic echo of the Biblical "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (Ephesians 5:14), the demons rise from the burning lake.

As when the potent Rod
Of Amrams Son in Egypt's evill day
Wav'd round the Coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of Locusts, warping on the Eastern Wind,
That ore the Realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of Nile:

¹⁰ A final repetition of the Biblical allusion to the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea occurs in Michael's foreview of the future in Book XII. The language is similar to that of the allusions in Book VI: Pharaoh's "stubborn heart" is "as Ice / More hard'nd after thaw" (XII, 193-94) as Satan and his followers are "hard'nd more by what might most reclame" (VI, 791); Pharaoh is "th' obdurate King" (XII, 205) as Satan and the rebels facing the Son are "th' obdurate" (VI, 790). The language is also similar to that used in the epic simile of Book I (l. 307 ff.); the Israelites in both instances are "sojourners" (XII, 192; I, 309); Pharaoh pursues "in his rage" (XII, 194) and "with perfidious hatred" (I, 308); the image of the "Chariot wheels" broken miraculously is repeated (XII, 210; I, 311). The main point, however, is that the final allusion in P. L. to the overthrowing of the Egyptians is in a context which connects it with God's preservation of the "Race elect" (XII, 214) for the express purpose of bringing forth "that destined Seed to bruise / The Serpent" and "achieve Mankinds deliverance" (XII, 233-35). The earlier allusions take on more importance by hindsight after the final repetition, and the consistency of Milton's allusions to this particular Bible passage, connoting, as they do, God's power to win over evil in his eternal providence -- past (in Book I), present (in Book VI), and future (in Book XII) -- lends thematic unity as well as epic sublimity and variety to Milton's poem.

So numberless were those bad Angels seen
 Hovering on wing under the Cope of Hell.

(P. L., I, 338-345)

The allusion is to the plague of locusts brought upon Egypt because of Pharaoh's obdurate refusal to let the Israelites leave his land.

And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the LORD brought an East-winde upon the land all that day, and all that night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts. And the locusts went up over al the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coastes of Egypt: very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened.

(Exodus 10:13-15a)

As Moses stretched out his "potent Rod" so Satan waves his "uplifted Spear" (I, 347) to direct the winged host; and in a very real sense, as Milton's explicit statements have already made clear ("all his malice serv'd but to bring forth / Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy," ll. 217-18), Satan is unwittingly directing his evil angels to serve God's ultimate purposes just as Moses directed the grievous locusts to serve God's purposes in Egypt. The image is striking and elevating to the imagination, and Milton's use of language makes one see and almost feel the circular, soaring motion of the angels as they spring up upon the wing: "round the Coast," "up," "warping on the Eastern Wind," "ore the Realm . . . hung." Together with the simile associating the host of angels with the barbarous Goths who "Came like a Deluge on the South" (I, 354) which follows a few lines later, the simile of the locusts prepares the way for the description

of the devils and their future wholesale invasion of Earth while it adds the pleasure of diversity for the reader. And, perhaps most important, the dominant chord of Book I and of the whole poem is struck again: God is sovereign and as he controlled and used the evil brought by the locusts to bring forth good for Israel so he will control and bring forth good out of the evil to be loosed on the earth by the devils.¹¹ In the catalogue of devils, immediately following the passage under consideration, the names used connote the defeat of some pagan deity by Jehovah in almost every case, and thus the theme of God's inevitable victory is continued.

One of the most striking of the Miltonic figures in Paradise Lost¹² is that used in connection with the stairway to the Gate of

¹¹The locusts appear again in Book XII, ll. 185-88. Among other plagues, Michael says, "Herb, or Fruit, or Graine, / A darksom Cloud of Locusts swarming down / Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green" before Pharaoh will let the Israelites leave Egypt. Milton here substitutes "darksom Cloud" for "pitchy cloud" (I, 340) of the first allusion, but the emphasis is still on the fact that God is above and behind the locusts, using them as a means of bringing deliverance to his people who, in turn, will bring forth "great Messiah" (XII, 244), "in whom all Nations shall be blest" (XII, 277).

¹²Two illustrative examples of the sons of Belial in Book I which are passed over here because they are not expanded into complete pictures like the epic simile but which suggest the theme of divine retribution for evil and of evil overcome by good are those of "Ely's Sons, who fill'd / With lust and violence the house of God" (I, 495-96) and of "that night in Gibeah, when the hospitable door / Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape" (I, 503-505). Eli's sons, referred to in the Bible "sons of Belial" (I Sam. 2:12), Hophni and Phinehas, were both destroyed as a judgment of God in one day (I Sam. 2:34, 4:11), and the Benjamites, who refused to deliver up the members of their tribe who were such sons of Belial that they attempted sodomy and raped and killed the concubine of a visiting Levite, paid with the lives of twenty-five thousand fighting men (Judges 20:46)

Heaven from the outside rim of the universe, seen by Satan just after his passage through Limbo:

farr distant hee describes
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high
.
The Stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of Guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz,
Dreaming by night under the open Skie,
And waking cri'd, This is the Gate of Heav'n.

(P. L., III, 501-503, 510-515)

The Biblical account from which Milton drew this simile concerns Jacob's flight to avoid being killed by his brother shortly after he deceived Isaac into blessing him as though he were Esau.

And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the Angels of God ascending and descending on it . . . And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadfull is this place? this is none other, but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven And he called the name of that place Bethel: but the name of that citie was called Luz, at the first.

(Genesis 28:12, 16-17, 19)

Perhaps what is most notable about the Biblical simile of the stairs for the reader acquainted with the Bible is the contrast between Jacob and Satan. When Jacob sees the stairway he is overwhelmed by a

and were prohibited from taking wives of other Israelite tribes (Jud. 21:1). Yet God replaced the dotting Eli and his wicked sons with the devoted Samuel, and the eventual outcome was a stabilized kingdom under David and Solomon; Israel's civil war against Benjamin resulted in a more united nation as the other tribes repented of their harsh treatment of Benjamin (Jud. 21:6, 15).

sense of fear and reverence as he looks up toward Heaven from the earth; when Satan sees the stairway, and even stands on the lower steps, he looks down "with wonder at the sudden view / Of all this World at once" (III, 542-43) and is seized by malign envy (ll. 552-53). When God lets down the stairway so that Jacob may see it, he is stirred by his vision to worship and make vows to God (Genesis 28: 20-22); Milton mentions only two possible reasons for the stairway being let down before Satan: "to dare / The Fiend by easie ascent, or aggravate / His sad exclusion from the dores of Bliss" (III, 523-25). But the simile of the stairs has significance with relation to the epic as a whole.

Milton says, "Each Stair [the stair which Satan saw and the stair which Jacob saw] mysteriously was meant" (III, 516); that is, there is a figural significance. The mysterious meaning of Jacob's ladder is made clear in an allusion to it by Jesus in the New Testament: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, & the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the Sonne of man" (John 1:51). The Son of Man, Christ Jesus, is the ladder, the stairway, from Earth to Heaven, "the Way, the Trueth, and the Life" (John 14:6); whether one came up from the earth and over the sea of jasper "Wafted by Angels" (l. 521) like Lazarus (Luke 16:22) or "Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds" (l. 522) like Elijah (II Kings 2:11), one must climb the stairway of the Son of Man. One may get even to the "foot / Of Heav'ns ascent" (l. 486) after seeking "In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heav'n" (l. 477), but if one

is trying to "pass disguis'd" in the weeds of a friar (l. 480) instead of in the "wedding garment" of faith in Christ (Matthew 22:12-13), he will be blown "transverse ten thousand Leagues awry" (l. 487) into Limbo. Satan stands on the "lower stair" that ascends "by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate" (l. 541), a stair which must represent Christ as does Jacob's stairway, turns his back on Heaven, and "without longer pause / Down right into the Worlds first Region throws / His flight precipitant" (III, 561-63). Satan's leap from the stair, which has neither dared him to ascend nor aggravated his "sad exclusion" from Heaven, is an act of disdain which precedes the full expression from his own mouth of his disdain in the soliloquy of Book IV. He has rejected the Son as Messiah in Heaven, as Jacob's Ladder on the rim of the world, and is soon to express his hatred for him as the Sun of Righteousness.

An epic simile in Book IV has been condemned as "too outrageous," "too strained," and as an "absurdity" by a critic as eager, normally, to praise Milton as C. S. Lewis.¹³ It is that in which Milton contrasts the pleasant smells of Eden which attract Satan with the stink of burning fish which put Asmodeus to flight in the apocryphal story of Tobit. Because the context of the passage (it follows an especially beautiful epic simile without Biblical allusions) may help explain what Milton is doing, it is quoted here with the epic simile drawn from the Apocrypha. Gentle gales are bringing "Native

¹³A Preface to *Paradise Lost*, p. 42.

perfumes" of Eden to Satan's nostrils.

As when to them who saile
Beyond the Cape of Hope and now are past
Mozambic, off at Sea North-East windes blow
Sabeau Odours from the spicie shoare
Of Arabie the blest, with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack thir course, and many a
League
Cheard with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.
So entertaind those odorous sweets the Fiend
Who came thir bane, though with them better pleas'd
Then Asmodeus with the fishie fume,
That drove him, though enamourd, from the Spouse
Of Tobits Son, and with a vengeance sent
From Media post to AEgypt, there fast bound.

(P. L., IV, 159-171)

Of the reference to Asmodeus, Professor Lewis says,

Milton wants to make us feel the full obscenity of Satan's presence in Eden by bringing a sudden stink of fish across the sweet smell of the flowers, and alluding to one of the most unpleasant Hebrew stories. But the pretence of logical connection (that Satan liked the flowers of Paradise better than Asmodeus liked the smell of burning fish) is too strained. We feel the absurdity.¹⁴

But Milton is not feinting with a "pretence of logical connection"; there is a logical connection, one of contrast rather than of comparison: a contrast that is intensified if the preceding comparison is kept in mind. The image there is of sailors, tired and perhaps mentally let down from the effort of rounding the Cape of Good Hope, so pleased and cheered with the "Odours from the spicie shoare / Of Arabie the blest" that even "old Ocean," so recently their enemy in the struggle against its currents at the Cape, seems to smile. Satan

¹⁴Ibid.

has also sailed "Beyond the Cape of Hope"; after his long, arduous journey through Chaos to the new world, after having declared "So farwel Hope" (IV, 108), he has arrived at the foot of the mount of Paradise where the air carries sweet smells that are able to drive away "All sadness but despair" (l. 156). Like the sailors who slack their course to enjoy the scent from shore, Satan journeys on "pensive and slow" (l. 173). But what of Asmodeus and the "fishie fume"? The reference to Tobit (Tobit 8:1-4) emphasizes, by contrasting Satan and Asmodeus, the similarity between Satan and the sailors of the preceding simile. They have struggled against the forces of God's world, though not against God; Satan has struggled against the forces of God's world (he even wishes to destroy it and man) and against God himself. Yet within sight and smell of the abode he hates, he finds himself entertained by the very sweets of which he has come to be the "bane" (l. 167), the destroyer (from Old English bana, "slayer"). Asmodeus came to the bridal chamber of Sara "enamoured" (l. 169), but found himself hating the smell of her chamber because of the burning fish heart and liver. Therefore, although Satan came to destroy the sweets, he is pleased with them; Asmodeus came to love Sara and displeased by the stink, was driven away. Satan was "better pleas'd" because he stayed to carry out his mission, whereas Asmodeus fled. The "better" (which seems so illogical on the surface) is simply Miltonic irony, similar to Satan's statement in Paradise Regained that he came to Jordan while John was baptizing, "Though not to be Baptiz'd" (P. R., IV, 512). Finally, though Satan

does not flee like Asmodeus and is not "fast bound" like Asmodeus but instead "At one slight bound" overleaps all "bound" (l. 181) of Paradise, the allusion to Asmodeus and his fate foreshadows the ultimate fate of Satan to be bound and cast into the lake of fire forever (Revelation 20:2, 10). God may defeat evil by putting its instrument to flight or by letting the evil do its work in order to bring good out of the evil. The latter is to the greater glory of God and is the course taken with regard to Satan's entrance into Eden and, consequently, into the heart of man.

Finding only one gate to the Garden of Eden, Satan disdains "Due entrance" (IV, 180) and leaps over the wall of trees into Paradise. Milton follows his description of this action by two Biblical epic similes.

As when a prowling Wolfe,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eve
In hurdld Cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould:
Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash
Of some rich Burgher, whose substantial dores,
Cross-barred and bolted fast, fear no assault,
In at the window climbs, or o're the tiles;
So clomb this first grand Thief into Gods Fould:
So since into his Church lewd Hirelings climbe.

(P. L., IV, 183-193)

The allusion is to the discourse on the Good Shepherd in John's

Gospel.¹⁵ The words are spoken by Jesus:

¹⁵Allusions are also present to Acts 20:29 and Ezekiel 22:27. Milton may have recalled Virgil's simile comparing Turnus, as he attacks the Trojan camp, to a hungry wolf circling a sheepfold (Aeneid, IX, 59-64).

Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hee that entereth not by the doore into the sheepefold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a theefe, and a robber Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the dore of the sheepe The theefe commeth not but for to steale, and to kil, and to destroy I am the good shepheard: the good shepheard giveth his life for the sheepe. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepheard, whose owne the sheepe are not, seeth the wolfe coming, and leaveth the sheepe, and fleeth: and the wolfe catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheepe.

(John 10:1, 7, 10a, 11-13)

Just as Satan turned his back on the stairway to Heaven's Gate, and cursed the sun (both Biblical symbols of Christ), he disdains the "doore of the shoepe" into Paradise because he is a wolf, come to scatter the sheep, and a thief, come to steal, to kill, and to destroy; therefore he "climbeth up some other way." Satan is called the "first grand Thief" so to enter God's fold, because he has been followed by a long line of successors, some even masquerading as shepherds though they were "wolves" (Acts 20:29), "theeves and robbers" (John 10:8), and hirelings (John 10:12-13). Thus Milton not only gives the reader, through the similes of the wolf and the thief, images which powerfully affect the imagination and emphasize the outrageous disdain connected with the Devil's intrusion into God's world and into God's Garden; Milton also suggests that Satan's act is the seminal violation of order in this new universe. When Michael informs Adam that after the apostles have fulfilled their ministry and left the Bible behind them, "Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous Wolves" (XII, 508) to pervert the Bible and to force "Spiritual

lawes by carnal power . . . On every conscience" (XII, 521-22), the reader may remember the earlier figure of the Wolf from whom all the enemies of God's sheep have descended. The complete pictures brought to mind, in Book IV, by the images of the wolf and the thief divert the reader momentarily from Satan and Paradise only to bring him back more vividly aware than ever of the significance of Satan's mode of entrance to man's abode for the present and for the future. And the images being taken from the discourse of Jesus on himself as the Good Shepherd brings a suggestion, which does not need to be stated, that no matter what evil this "first grand Thief" may accomplish, the Good Shepherd, who "giveth his life for the sheepe" (John 10:11), will overrule it and bring good for the sheep out of it to the glory of the Father.¹⁶ The echo of the wolf simile in Book XII by Michael is closely followed by the promise of the coming Christ

In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan with his perverted World, then raise
.
New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endless date
Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
To bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss.

(P. L., XII, 546-551)

At the close of Book IV, as Satan gives signs of wishing to fight Gabriel and his forces rather than to obey Gabriel's stern order

¹⁶Satan is called "Thief of Paradise" in the closing hymn of the angels in *Paradise Regained* (IV, 604), where Christ is being praised for having "frustrated the conquest fraudulent" and "regain'd lost Paradise" (IV, 608-609). In such a context, the echo of the thief simile marking Satan's first entrance to Eden is appropriate, for the theme of God's overruling Satan's evil is being repeated.

to get out of Paradise, the angels prepare for battle. As Milton describes it,

th' Angelic Squadron bright
 Turnd fierie red, sharpening in mooned hornes
 Thir Phalanx, and began to hemm him round
 With ported Spears, as thick as when a field
 Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
 Her bearded Grove of ears, which way the wind
 Swayes them; the careful Plowman doubting stands
 Least on the threshing floore his hopeful sheaves
 Prove chaff.

(P. L., IV, 977-985)

The visual image of the host of spears moving together to the diagonal port position is made perfectly clear by the simile of the field of wheat bending in the direction of the wind; why, then, does Milton expand the image to include the "careful Plowman"? The plowman, in Scripture, stands for the servant of God (as in I Corinthians 9:10 and Luke 17:7), but he also stands for the Son of God (described in Matthew 13:37 as "he that soweth the good seede" and connected in Luke 9:62 with "the plough").¹⁷ The Biblical principle that "hee that ploweth, should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope" (I Corinthians 9:10) is alluded to here, and Milton shifts the identification of the plowman from the servant to God. There is doubt that the elect angels and their spears unaided can effect Satan's expulsion from Eden; thus God,

¹⁷There is also, as literary precedent for Milton's connection of God and his servants with a plowman, Langland's Piers the Plowman, in which Piers is successively a layman, a priest, a bishop, and Christ himself (cf. "Petrus, id est Christus" in Passus XV). Cf. also Hugh Latimer's "The Sermon of the Plough."

immediately following this simile and the description of Satan's tremendous might, intervenes and doubles the strength of Gabriel's forces to "trample . . . as mire" (l. 1010) the Fiend. But there is more significance still to the simile of the plowman. The reference to "chaff" (l. 985) recalls Christ's words to Peter, shortly before that disciple's denial of his Lord: "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Luke 22:31-32). Satan's sifting, or threshing, of Peter as wheat resulted in the taking away of only the chaff of Peter's overconfident assurance that he would remain, in his own strength, faithful to Christ. Again the theme of Satan's evil becoming the occasion for good to God's people through God's power is hinted at: if Satan and the angels had fought without God's intervention and if Satan had won, only chaff would be gone, and the wheat would be even more pure, just as the elect angels who did not fall with Satan are praised by the Father as those who "in thir state, though firm, stood more confirmd" (XI, 71). But why is a plowman rather than a reaper associated with grain ripe for harvest? Perhaps the allusion is to the prophetic promise of God through Amos that in the days of the millennial reign of Messiah, "the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountaines shall drop sweet wine, & all the hils shall melt" (Amos 9:13); when the seasons so merge into one another, the "Eternal Spring" of Paradise will be regained. Thus, through Milton's Biblical allusions in his extended epic similes in Book IV of Paradise

Lost, whether Satan is entering Paradise or being expelled from it, the theme of God's ultimate victory over Satan and the restoration of the blissful seat by "one greater Man" runs quietly as a strong, prevailing undercurrent beneath the uncertain turbulence of the surface action of the epic.

One final Miltonic simile based on the Bible remains to be considered.¹⁸ It, like others discussed earlier, is a twofold simile, drawn from two different Bible stories, the second being expanded more than the first. As Michael and his bands of guardian angels descend to Paradise, they form a glorious apparition, although Adam is blind to the glory of it through the results of sin, "doubt / And carnal fear" (XI, 212), which dim his eyes.

Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
 The field Pavilion'd with his Guardians bright;
 Nor that which on the flaming Mount appeard
 In Dothan, cover'd with a Camp of Fire,
 Against the Syrian King, who to surprize
 One man, Assassin-like had levied Warr,
 Warr unproclam'd.

(P. L., XI, 213-220)

¹⁸One simile has been passed over because of its having been mentioned as a means of characterizing Adam in an earlier chapter (see above, p. 302). It is that simile in Book IX in which Adam is compared, as he rises from his lustful and degrading sexual orgy with Eve, to "Herculean Samson" rising from the "Harlot-lap / Of Philistine Dalilah . . . Shorn of his strength" (IX, 1059-62). The reference is to Jud. 16:4-20; but that Adam will be eventually victorious over his sin and shame through Christ, the last Adam, is suggested when it is remembered that, even though Samson was blinded and enslaved, "the haire of his head began to grow againe" (Jud. 16:22) and God gave him a greater victory in his death than he had ever won in his life (Jud. 16:30).

The Biblical description of Jacob's meeting with the angels is about as brief as Milton's and is even less easily visualized: "And Jacob went on his way, and the Angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he saide, This is Gods hoste; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim" (Genesis 32:1-2). But although Jacob saw the angels and named the place Mahanaim, meaning "two bands," indicating that his own band was reinforced and protected by the angelic band, his guilty conscience and fear of meeting Esau (whom he had tricked out of their father's blessing years before) dimmed his appreciation of the beauty of the angels and weakened his faith in their protection. Upon hearing that Esau was coming to meet him with four hundred men, Jacob was so afraid that he divided the human company into two bands and acted as though the divine company did not exist (Genesis 32:6-8). Thus the comparison between Adam and Jacob, both afflicted by fear and doubt even in the presence of angels, is appropriate. The second simile alludes to the story of the King of Syria's attempt to attack the prophet Elisha. Dothan, where Elisha and his servant were, was compassed about during the night with horses and chariots and a great host.

And when the servant of the man of God was risen early
& gone forth, behold, an host compassed the citie, both
with horses and charets. And his servant said unto
him, Alas, my master! how shall we doe? And hee an-
swered, Feare not: for they that bee with us are more
than they that bee with them. And Elisha prayed, and
said, LORD, I pray thee open his eyes, that hee may
see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man,
and he saw: and, behold, the mountaine was full of
horses, and charets of fire round about Elisha.

(II Kings 6:15-17)

As Adam is like Jacob in not fully appreciating the band of angels he sees, he is also like Elisha's servant, who was not conscious of the presence of divine help until his eyes were opened by God (as Adam's eyes are to be opened by Michael). But in this second part of the twofold simile, the allusion to Elisha and the Syrian king, there is a more important point of comparison with the action of Paradise Lost. The Syrian king came, "Assassin-like," to levy "Warr unproclam'd" on "One man"; this is exactly what Satan has done to Adam. Satan did not come with a host of his demons, but he came with all the superior advantage of his supernatural power and with the element of surprise on his side to destroy "One man" and, in him, the race. God gave man an angelic guard who did all they could to protect him from Satan, but once Satan had Eve as his instrument, all was lost for Adam. Yet now that Adam has fallen, been judged, and repented, as the angel bands come to dispossess him of Paradise, Milton uses similes based on Scriptures in which angel bands appeared for the purpose of guarding and shielding man, not for punishing or penalizing him. In spite of the shock of disappointment which Adam and Eve feel (and which the reader feels with them) at their being expelled from Paradise, the underlying connotation of Biblical allusion is that it is ultimately a good thing that man should be sent "from the Garden forth to Till / The Ground whence he was taken, fitter soile" (XI, 97-98).

Rather than leave man in Paradise to pluck the fruit of the Tree of Life "and eat, / And live for ever, dream at least to live / For ever" (XI, 94-96), God decrees that man should not only be sent

forth but also prevented from returning. Paradise is to be guarded with maximum security so that foul spirits cannot prey on the Garden trees "With whose stol'n Fruit Man once more to delude" (XI, 125). Although man's leaving Paradise is a sad banishment, it is also a providential blessing; only by leaving the physical Paradise, for one thing, can man possess the Paradise within him, "happier farr" (XII, 587). Man will be far better through having learned from experience that God is not on "this Rock onely; his Omnipresence fills / Land, Sea, and Aire, and every kinde that lives" (XI, 336-37). And aiding in giving the reader the feeling that things are turning out best for Adam after all are the references identifying Michael's angelic armies with Biblical guardians and protectors of man's happiness and welfare rather than with ministers of vengeance.¹⁹ The same hosts of angels take on a terrifying aspect in the closing lines of the poem, but it is a terror mitigated by the image of their leader, Michael, "hastning . . . Our lingring Parents" (XII, 637-38) by walking with them hand in hand out of the Eastern Gate and down the mount of Paradise to the plain of Eden. This final image of Michael and Adam and Eve, with its similarity to the story of the angels hastening Lot and his wife and daughters out of Sodom (Genesis 19), is more suggestive of deliverance than of banishment. Again the

¹⁹The expression "Guardians bright" in the passage under discussion (XI, 215) is verbally identical with that used earlier to describe the angels Jacob saw on the stairway to Heaven (III, 512), angels which were there, Milton implies, to guard Jacob in his flight from Esau. And part of the function of Michael's troops is to guard Adam in his enforced flight from the scene of his crime.

unifying theme of God's power to bring good out of evil is heard softly in the background, as it has been heard in many passages in the poem, and especially underlying the Biblical allusions in the epic similes. Shortly before the end of Paradise Lost, Adam gives loud and clear emphasis to this theme which has so often appeared in the minor key:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Then that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness!

(P. L., XII, 469-473)

Biblical Epic Reiteration

In addition to the strengthening of the thematic unity of the major epic of Paradise Lost by the use of epic similes based on the Bible, there are certain Biblical allusions reiterated throughout both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained often enough to unify both poems through common themes so that the sequel becomes a part of the original epic thematically although not structurally or stylistically.

Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained both open with allusions to a Biblical truth which becomes central for both epics. Milton's song,

Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,

(P. L., I, 1-5)

is echoed by the sequel,

I who e're while the happy Garden sung,
 By one mans disobedience lost, now sing
 Recover'd Paradise to all mankind
 By one mans firm obedience fully tri'd,

(P. R., I, 1-4)

and the opening notes of both songs allude to the Biblical statement that

by one man sinne entered into the world, and death by sinne; and so death passed upon all men For as by one mans disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous.

(Romans 5:12, 19)

Following the opening lines, there are many allusions in both poems to the same Scripture, especially to man's disobedience in Paradise Lost, since that is the main action of the longer epic, and especially to the obedience of One Man in Paradise Regained, which is a poetic demonstration of the loyal obedience of the God-man under the most trying circumstances, obedience in accord with his promise in Paradise Lost, Book III. "Man disobeying" (P. L., III, 203) in the epic on the Fall is countered by the Son's "Filial obedience" (P. L., III, 269) in the epic on Christ's overcoming of Satan's temptations. At the close of Book VI of Paradise Lost, Adam is warned to profit by having heard from Raphael "By terrible example the reward / Of disobedience" (VI, 910-11). At the opening of the crucial Book IX, full allusion is made to the Scripture once again in language that connects the allusion to the poem's opening lines, as Milton changes his notes to tragic to speak of

foul distrust, and breach
 Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt,
 And disobedience . . .

 That brought into this World a world of woe,
 Sinne and her shadow Death.

(P. L., IX, 6-8, 11-12)

After man's disobedience and eventual repentance, Michael appears to reveal the future to Adam and gives a theological explanation of the Biblical text on "one mans disobedience" and the "obedience of one." Christ can be the Saviour, Michael says,

But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
 Obedience to the Law of God, impos'd
 On penaltie of death, and suffering death,
 The penaltie to thy transgression due . . .

 The Law of God exact he shall fulfill
 Both by obedience and by love.

(P. L., XII, 396-99, 402-403)

And, for those who believe in his redemption, "his obedience / Imputed becomes theirs by Faith" (XII, 408-409). Finally Adam can say "Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best" (XII, 561). The reader of Paradise Lost, through the reiterated allusions to the Scripture contrasting the curse that one man's disobedience brought with the blessing that the obedience of One provides, is made aware of the unified theme of the epic; furthermore, when he comes to read Paradise Regained and finds allusion to the same Scripture in the opening lines of the shorter epic, he is conscious of the continuation of the theme of the effects of disobedience overcome by the effects of obedience.

The Genesis account of the Fall does not identify Satan with the Serpent or mention Satan's being embodied in the Serpent when Eve is tempted. The Biblical statement is made that "the Serpent beguiled Eve through his subtiltie" (II Corinthians 11:3), but it is only in the last book of the Bible that Satan is clearly identified as "that old Serpent, called the Devil, and Satan" (Revelation 12:9, 20:2). Apparently taking the Apocalyptic identification of Satan as a Serpent as his authority, Milton calls Satan "th' infernal Serpent" in his very first reference to him in Paradise Lost and "Infernal Serpent" in his penultimate reference to him in Paradise Regained (P. L., I, 34; P. R., IV, 618). It is interesting to trace Milton's use of the word "serpent" throughout the two poems as Satan deteriorates from the magnificent demigod of Paradise Lost, Book I, to the serpentine Tempter of Book IX, and finally to the disgusting, crawling serpent of Book X; from Book XI on to the end of Paradise Lost, Satan's designation as Serpent is connected with the promise that the Seed of the woman will bruise his head.²⁰ In Paradise Regained Satan is

²⁰"Serpent" is used with reference directly or indirectly to Satan only once each in P. L., Books I, II, and IV (ll. 34, 652, and 347 respectively); it is used twice in Book VII (ll. 482, 495), fourteen times in Book IX (ll. 86, 160, 182, 413, 455, 560, 615, 647, 764, 785, 867, 930, 1150), thirteen times in Book X (ll. 3, 84, 162, 165, 174, 495, 514, 580, 867, 879, 927, 1032, 1034), and four times in Book XII (ll. 150, 234, 383, 454). Satan is referred to as "Serpent" once in each of the four books of P. R. (I, 312; II, 147; III, 5; IV, 618), the last time being the same phrase ("Infernal Serpent") as the first reference to him in P. L. Interesting too is the carry-over of the comparison of Satan to a star in P. L., VII, 133 and X, 426, 450, to P. R., IV, 619. His starry brightness, however, is "false glitter" (P. L., X, 450).

simply the "old Serpent" of Scripture with all his wiles and wickedness but with most of his eloquent bombast and imposing stature gone. But even when Satan is most impressive and apparently heroic in Paradise Lost it should be remembered that he is introduced in the poem as "th' infernal Serpent."

Milton makes particularly effective use of repetitions of allusion to the statement of Genesis that "the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made" (Genesis 3:1a). Raphael first uses the line (Milton substitutes a superlative for the Scriptural comparative) as he describes the living creatures created by God on the sixth day:

The Serpent suttl'st Beast of all the field,
Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen Eyes
And hairie Main terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.

(P. L., VII, 495-498)

When Satan re-enters the Garden and searches for a creature which might serve his wiles best, he finds and chooses "The Serpent subtlest Beast of all the Field" (IX, 86). When the Biblical line is repeated the third and final time in the epic, it is varied to form Eve's amazed address to the Serpent:

Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice endu'd.

(P. L., IX, 560-561)

These three references to the Serpent as "subtlest beast" -- the innocent irony of Raphael's designation of the Serpent as "Not noxious, but obedient at thy call" (VII, 498), the poet's explanation of Satan's

choice of the Serpent as his instrument (IX, 86), and Eve's unsuspecting surprise at the Serpent's voice (IX, 560) -- form the crux of the many allusions to Satan as "Serpent" listed here both in text and in notes, for it is in these three references that the Devil and his instrument become inextricably identified in the reader's mind. Neither the angels (X, 1-5, 19-21) nor man (IX, 1067-69) nor woman (IX, 1149-50) can ever afterward have a simple admiration for the Serpent as such; he has become, though a beast, identified with Satan. He too must be judged, and from being the "suttlest" of beasts he becomes the lowest of them, "accurst / Above all Cattel, each Beast of the Field" (X, 175-76) to crawl on his belly and eat the dust. Throughout the remainder of Paradise Lost and throughout Paradise Regained the Serpent is Satan and Satan is the Serpent and, as Satan's daughter was serpentine in her lower parts, Satan and his followers are transformed periodically into crawling serpents. After Book X (and including X, 1032-34), all the references to the Serpent in Paradise Lost are connected with the promise of his future bruising by the Seed of the woman.²¹ Thus mention of the Serpent shifts from an

²¹Reiteration of the Scriptural phrases "seed of the woman" and "woman's seed" occurs frequently in P. L., beginning with God's judgment of the Serpent in X, 180, and continuing through the poem (X, 499, 965, 999, 1031; XI, 116, 155; XII, 125, 148, 233, 260, 273, 327, 379, 395, 450, 543, 600, 623). Edward S. LeComte (Yet Once More [New York, 1953], p. 165) says that so many repetitions of the "seed" theme in Book XII indicate that Milton "put a merely mechanical trust in the letter of Scripture" to overcome the preponderant gloom of the final books by repeated allusion to the promise of the Redeemer. The variation of structure and context of the reiterations, however, keep them from being "merely mechanical"; but even if they are considered mechanical, they do achieve the

evocation of fearful anticipation on the part of the reader in Paradise Lost, Books I through IX, to hope of redemption through Christ in Books X through XII and on through Paradise Regained.

Allusions are made frequently and with increasing significance in both epics to the Biblical statements that Satan is, since the Fall, "the prince of the power of the aire" (Ephesians 2:2), that Christ has triumphed over Satan in his own domain of the air at the resurrection when he "ascended up on high [leading] captivitie captive" (Ephesians 4:8), and that Christ will triumph completely over Satan at his Second Advent:²²

desired effect in the mind of the Bible-centered Christian, which is to emphasize the fortunate aspects of the Fall. The many allusions of P. L., Book XII, are echoed three times in P. R., Book I (ll. 54, 64, 151), twice by Satan himself and once by God the Father.

²²The triumph of Christ is also suggested by the use made of a Biblical line as a form of address. God's mode of address to his saints in Book V -- "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers" (l. 601) -- is anticipated in the action of P. L. by Satan's address to his fallen hosts, "Princes, Potentates" (I, 315) and "Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n" (II, 11). The Biblical allusion is both to Paul's portrayal of Christ as the one by and for whom all things were created "whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers" (Col. 1:16) and to the Biblical identification of Satan as "prince of the power of the aire" (Ephes. 2:2). The reiteration of God's exact form of address by Satan as he incites rebellion (V, 772) intensifies his blasphemous disloyalty while it suggests, through Biblical allusion, the irony of his position as a rebel against his own Creator. When the same words are applied by the faithful Abdiel to "all the Spirits of Heav'n" as having been created by the Son (V, 840), the full impact of Satan's willful disobedience and its inevitable consequences are felt. When Satan rolls out the mighty line for his last time (X, 460), he has been anticipated by the use of the words by Milton to describe those who accompanied the Son to Heaven's Gate as he descended to judge Adam, Eve, and the Serpent (X, 86-87). Satan's metamorphosis into a real serpent follows almost immediately after his final reiteration of the

For the Lord himselfe shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voyce of the Archangell, and with the trumpe of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive & remaine shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meete the Lord in the aire: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

(I Thessalonians 4:16)

The key word which Milton uses to evoke these Biblical truths of Satan's present reign in the air and of Christ's final triumph over him in his own realm is "air." Since the scope of his major epic is so all-inclusive, Milton begins his allusions to these Scriptures in the speeches of the devils in Hell as they plan for a better domain before a created earth with an atmosphere of air ever existed. He continues to use these allusions to show how Satan and his offspring and followers came into possession of the air and the changes that were wrought in the air and on the earth by man's sin, and he uses them to foreshadow, even from Book II, Christ's ultimate triumph in the air. Then allusions to the same texts are used in Paradise Regained to demonstrate that, although Satan and his cohorts have possession of the air, Christ's standing firm against every temptation of the Devil gives infallible assurance that Christ will triumph over Satan

line (X, 460), and God soon predicts the Son's victory over Satan, Sin, and Death; Satan's presumption in using the divine words is appropriately rewarded. Not in the order of Milton's presentation, but in the order of strict chronology, the initial treachery of Satan is stressed by his imitation of God's form of address, there is a long period in which he uses only shortened and modified versions of God's words, and, finally, there is his use of the full formula again to signalize his "victory," a victory which is soon shown explicitly to be what the Biblical allusions of the heavenly titles have implied all along: a Pyrrhic victory.

in his resurrection and second coming as prophesied in the Bible and alluded to in both epics.

Being winged creatures, once the devils have raised themselves from the fiery lake of Hell, they are in the "air" of Hell much more than on the land (P. L., I, 226, 516, 545, 767; II, 528, 540, etc.). But the overwhelming response to Beelzebub's plan of invading the new universe indicates that the fallen angels do not like the atmosphere of Hell (to use litotes) and, although they would like to believe such advisers as Belial and Mammon, that they have not really believed that they could settle down there, get acclimated, and live happily ever after. As soon as the vote of the assembly has been cast in favor of his plan, Beelzebub speaks of their hope of being once more lifted up, perhaps nearer their ancient seats, perhaps to some mild zone of light, where

the soft delicious Air,
To heal the scarr of these corrosive Fires
Shall breath her balme,

(P. L., II, 400-402)

instead of remaining in this horrible place where "the parching Air / Burns froze, and cold performs th' effect of Fire" (II, 594-95).

That Satan, too, shares the hope of possessing a more pleasant climate and one in which he can do more injury to the works of God is shown by his promise to Sin and Death to win a better kingdom for them and to give them the privilege to "Wing silently the buxom Air" of Earth and "be fed and fill'd" (II, 842-43). Finally, after struggling through Chaos and winging through the "dun Air sublime" (III, 72) of

the outside rim of the universe, Satan enters the solar system, winding with ease "Through the pure marble Air his oblique way" (III, 564). Although he gets entangled in his own lies when he is caught in Paradise by Gabriel's forces, Satan is known by the reader to be giving a genuine reason when he says, his words alluding to the Biblical phrase, "prince of the power of the aire" (Ephesians 2:2), that he has come to Eden

here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
To settle here on Earth, or in mid Aire.

(P. L., IV, 938-940)

But before being surprised by the guardian angels, Satan has successfully gained entrance to Adam's bower in the form of a toad and has caused Eve to dream of the forbidden fruit. In her account of the dream to Adam, Eve quotes the bright being (Satan) of her dream as having said of the fruit,

Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thy self a Goddess, not to Earth confind,
But sometimes in the Air, as wee.

(P. L., V, 77-79)

Later, in his actual temptation of Eve, Satan echoes the suggestion that Eve has a right to power in the air as well as on the earth. He expresses surprise that God has said "Of all these Garden Trees ye shall not eate" although Adam and Eve are "Lords declar'd of all in Earth or Aire" (IX, 657-58). Of course, Satan is lying and knows it; that one tree only is prohibited and that Adam is the one who has dominion he has learned long ago. There is the subtle insinuation

that God has not been fair, and little by little Eve adopts Satan's point of view that God has indeed not been fair to deny her and her husband anything. Satan's purpose is to gain both the earth and the air for his province; he accomplishes it by the temptation and fall of Eve and the consequent fall of Adam, and one method by which he brings about Eve's sin is to implant in her the inordinate desire to be a goddess of the air. It is a vain hope for her, but her belief in it and her action upon that belief brings about the fulfillment of Satan's hope. No sooner has sin entered in power than it follows in body (X, 585-86) and Sin and Death launch out on their bridge-building voyage to Earth, Death upturning "His Nostril wide into the murkie Air, / Sagacious of his Quarrey from so farr" (X, 279-81). Meeting them, Satan gives the pair a charge blasphemously similar to that given Adam by God:

right down to Paradise descend:
There dwell & Reign in bliss, thence on the Earth
Dominion exercise and in the Aire,
Chiefly on Man, sole Lord of all declar'd.

(P. L., X, 398-401)

Through repetition of allusions to Satan's dominion in the air, Hilton has brought the reader from Hell, where the devils merely hoped to gain a better abode (better both in the sense of more pleasant and of its forming a base of destructive operations against the works of God), to Earth, where the Fall has occurred and Satan, Sin, and Death have invaded the once pure air of Earth. Changes are bound to take place and they are not long in coming. The Judge takes pity on Adam and Eve because they stand before him "naked to the aire,

that now / Must suffer change" (X, 212-13), and Adam soon finds that night is not as it was

ere man fell
Wholsom and cool, and mild, but with black Air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom.

(P. L., X, 847-848)

Soon other signs in Nature serve as bad omens to Adam; the first signs of enmity and violence between other creatures takes place in the air.

Nature first gave Signs, imprest
On Bird, Beast, Aire, Aire suddenly eclips'd
After short blush of Morn.

(P. L., XI, 181-183)

Adam sees an eagle pursue two smaller, beautifully colored birds toward the east; then a lion stalks a hart and hind toward the Eastern Gate. Adam recognizes "this double object in our sight / Of flight pursu'd in th' Air and ore the ground" (XI, 201-202) as prognosticators of "some furdur change" (XI, 193). The change is, of course, that he and Eve are to be banned from the Garden, but a very significant change has already taken place: Satan and his evil offspring have begun their pernicious influence in the air.

All the references in Paradise Lost to Satan's power in the air, however, are not favorable to him. Milton has given hints and even explicit statements that point forward to Christ's victory in the air, a victory over Satan in Satan's own realm. The first allusion is a mere hint in an epic simile used to describe the impending battle between Satan and Death at the gates of Hell:

So spake this Oracle,²³ then verifi'd
 When Jesus son of Mary second Eve,
 Saw Satan fall like Lightning down from Heav'n,
 Prince of the Aire; then rising from his Grave
 Spoild Principalities and Powers, triumpht
 In open shew, and with ascention bright
 Captivity led captive through the Aire,
 The Realme it self of Satan long usurpt,
 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet;
 Evn hee who now foretold his fatal bruise.

(P. L., X, 182-191)

In addition to the Scriptures quoted earlier, there is allusion here to Colossians: "having spoyled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it" (Colossians 2:15).

One last allusion in Paradise Lost, that by Michael in Book XII (the book in which all repetitive Biblical allusions in the poem find their culmination), speaks of Christ's triumph.

Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he shall ascend
 With victory, triumphing through the aire
 Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise

²³Reiterations of "oracle" in P. L. and P. R. are interesting to note. The first reference (P. L., I, 12) is to the Temple in Jerusalem; the reference above from Book X is to Christ himself as the Word, the Logos, of God. The term is used by Christ of himself and of the Spirit in P. R. (I, 460, and I, 463, respectively) as a rebuke to Satan, who had claimed to be a friend of man through "oracles . . . Whereby they may direct their future life" (P. R., I, 395-96). Christ shows the great disservice Satan has done man by his so-called oracles which mix "somewhat true to vent more lyes" (P. R., I, 433) and announces that "Oracles are ceast" (P. R., I, 456) now that God has sent his Son as "living Oracle" and his Spirit as "inward Oracle" (P. R., I, 460, 463). Satan, with his Serpent wiles, seeks to pick this reference up later and use it to tempt Christ to "be as the Oracle" to Kings and nations (P. R., III, 13); again he seizes on Christ's praise of Socrates (III, 96 ff.) to make the subtle suggestion that the oracles must be accurate after all since "well-inspir'd the Oracle pronounc'd [Socrates] Wisest of men" (IV, 275-76).

The Serpent, Prince of aire, and drag in Chaines
Through all his realme, & there confounded leave.

(P. L., XII, 451-455)

As Paradise Regained opens, the clock is turned back to the time preceding the final visions of Adam in Paradise Lost to the time of the life of Christ when Satan still possessed his realm of air. Satan speeds to "his place . . . in mid air" (P. R., I, 39) upon witnessing the baptism of Jesus, and addresses his "gloomy Consistory":

O ancient Powers of Air and this wide world
For much more willingly I mention Air,
This our old Conquest, then remember Hell
Our hated habitation.

(P. R., I, 44-47)

He further expresses the hope that "that long threatn'd wound" from the Seed of the woman will not take away all the devils' power, freedom, and being "In this fair Empire won of Earth and Aire" (I, 63). But Satan's fair empire of earth and air was won by fraud, by his deception of Eve and her temptation of Adam; he is soon to discover that the man with whom he has now to deal will overcome all his temptations and deceptions and will thus make it absolutely certain that Satan is going to lose his realm through man as he gained it through man.

Although Satan boasts to Christ that he enjoys

Large liberty to round this Globe of Earth,
Or range in th' Air,

(P. R., I, 365-366)

and shows his dominion of the air by transporting Christ through the air and giving him visions "multiplied through air" (IV, 41), Satan is so utterly defeated in his own boasted realm when Christ stands

upright on the pinnacle of the Temple that he is aptly compared to Antaeus, who, although "Throttl'd . . . in the Air" (IV, 568) as Satan is, was defeated because he was out of touch with his own element, the earth. Satan is foiled in the territory of which he is the self-proclaimed prince. The effect is to emphasize that Satan's dominion of the air is a usurper's rule; the true ruler is the Son of God as demonstrated by his standing while Satan falls.

When Satan falls, a globe of elect angels hasten to minister to Christ and bear him through the "blithe Air" (IV, 585), happy in the assurance that Satan's ultimate doom is sealed; this victory of Christ in the wilderness makes sure all his future victories. The angels address Satan in their song and prophesy his doom on the basis of his failure to tempt the Son of God into any disobedience or even imprudence.

But thou, Infernal Serpent, shalt not long
 Rule in the Clouds: like an Autumnal Star
 Or Lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n trod down
 Under his feet: for proof, e're this thou feel'st
 Thy wound, yet not thy last and deadliest wound
 By this repulse receiv'd.

(P. R., IV, 618-623)

The fact that Christ's triumph in the wilderness has not finished the work of redemption is made clear by the hymn; indeed, that Christ has not even begun that part of his work which shall save mankind but has merely proved his ability to defeat Satan and "re-install" man in Paradise "when time shall be" (IV, 616) is stated in the final words of the angelic host: "Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work / Now enter, and begin to save mankind" (IV, 634-35).

Milton's epic similes are formed in language that elevates the material of Paradise Lost to a level of high seriousness and those which are drawn from the Bible are especially effective in this way as well as in providing a stimulating variety of background for the action of the epic and in stressing the dominant theme of the epic: that God rules the universe in eternal providence in such a way as to bring good out of evil. It is the acceptance of this theme that makes God's ways appear justified and justifiable to men. In addition, the chains of reiteration in Biblical allusions, notably of this last chain formed by links of reference to Satan's and Christ's relationship to the earth and the air, bind into one theme the individual epics and even bind the two epics together into a thematic whole, though not a structural or stylistic whole. Paradise Lost is a complete whole and so is Paradise Regained; the latter epic, however, supplements and reinforces the great truths of the former. Milton must have been especially happy that in writing Paradise Regained he had not only continued the great theme of the obedience of one man overcoming what had befallen because of the disobedience of one; he had also produced a poem which would not leave

the better fortitude
Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom
Unsung

(P. L., IX, 31-33)

but would portray this particular kind of heroism in its highest manifestation: the "patient Son of God" undergoing temptation in "calm and sinless peace" (P. R., IV, 420, 425).

CONCLUSION

The sheer cumulative weight of the evidence presented on the preceding pages should be of some value in evaluating Milton as a Biblical poet, and, even if there were no other benefits to be gained from the study than this merely mechanical one of making the Biblical saturation of Milton's mind and, consequently, of Milton's great epic poems more evident, this study should be worthwhile. A greater end than this, however, was envisioned from the beginning and some elements of this greater end were indicated in the introductory section of this study; it is hoped that the more important result of bringing the student of Milton to a fuller appreciation of the nature, extent, and poetic effect of the Biblical saturation of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained has been achieved. There remain a few general conclusions to be drawn from what has gone before; but first a basic principle which has been mentioned several times in the preceding chapters needs re-emphasis. Although Biblical words, phrases, idiom, structure, repetitions, and epithets are so pervasive and so pregnant with suggestion throughout Milton's epics, nowhere does the reader of Milton need more than a fraction of the thorough knowledge of the Bible which Milton himself enjoyed in order to get the meaning of a passage. Like Milton's classical allusions, most of the Biblical allusions are accompanied by enough information in the poem to supply the significant surface meaning without recognition of the particular

Biblical incident, person, or principle being alluded to. The allusions in general do not require the kind of annotation, or even research into obscure secondary works, which, say, the poetry of T. S. Eliot sometimes requires. It is true, however, that the deepening and broadening of the meaning of Milton's poems require a better than casual knowledge of the Bible. If the seed of suggestion Milton sows falls upon good ground, it will bring forth a hundredfold. But even if the seed falls by the wayside and never takes root, there is enough material in the poems to carry the reader along with Milton's meaning. An example is Satan's speech in Paradise Lost, Book I (ll. 570-73). Since Milton says that Satan hardens his heart and glories in his pride, the clue for the interpretation is explicit; however, the implications of the Biblical allusion, which associates Satan with the proud Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, greatly enriches the reader's understanding of Satan when the allusion is recognized.

Above all, a careful study of Milton's use of the Bible in his epic poems reveals the great mind of Milton acting as a prism through which the light of the Bible passes to be broken up into all the colors of the rainbow: he communicates the authority of Biblical truth, instills confidence in the ultimate triumph of God and good, dramatically develops character and action, orders emotion, and raises awe and admiration for the Almighty, especially as he is manifested in his Son. The theme which runs through all Milton's uses of the Bible in his epics is "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth!" (Revelation 19:6). Even when the main purpose of Biblical allusion

is to communicate authoritative reality, there is the underlying, figural, foreshadowing connection between persons, events, and places described and future persons, events, and places in God's transcendent universal scheme of eternal providence. (Milton's linguistic skill is used to affect the reader's attitude towards the characters of his epic drama in relation to God's purposes; the meaning of Satan's name, of the names of the human pair, of Eden, emphasize the nature and cause of the loss of Paradise but at the same time suggest the eternal life and happier Paradise which will be the final result. Milton's use of the original Scriptures underscores such important elements as Heaven's far-reaching view of events taking place on the little globe of earth and the nature of Christ's final victory over Satan. His use of the Bible for dramatic effect intensifies the theme of God's omnipotent providence, especially in the delineation of character. Satan is doomed to defeat like the Biblical villains with whom he is associated by allusion; Adam, though he falls, is assured of salvation for himself and for his posterity by his identification with faithful Abraham and the second Adam; Eve, more sinned against than sinning since she is the weaker vessel who should have been ruled by Adam,⁽³⁾ is connected with Mary, the "second Eve," from whose womb will come the promised Seed to bruise the Serpent's head. Particularly in the similes and reiterated allusions of his peculiarly epic uses of the Bible, Milton has sounded and resounded the motif of God's ultimate victory.) The connotation of every Biblical simile, and even many of the classical similes, is defeat for

Satan and victory for God and for man through Christ; reiterations of Biblical phrases throughout both epics suggest, over and over, the means by which man will regain lost Paradise and overcome the Tempter.

Milton himself, the man and the poet, comes through clearly as a result of his use of the Bible in his epic poems. The vast knowledge of the Bible in three languages, the consummate skill with which he selected and arranged his allusions to the Bible, and the delicate, sensuous, yet universal beauty that the Biblical account of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden takes on in Milton's major epic increase one's admiration for the superbly sustained discipline which Milton achieves. And in both epics, an impression of the firm moral principles of this Christian humanist and his rather Hebraic manliness is communicated in other ways but is reinforced by his use of the Bible.

One of the most impressive intellectual and artistic feats performed by Milton is his transmutation of Biblical, classical, and historical allusions into something peculiarly Miltonic, a something which is artistically a new creation, greater than the sum of its parts. That his mind could be so filled with classical, theological, scientific, Scriptural, and historical lore is amazing; but more amazing still is the ability of his mind to carry so much material in solution until the artistically appropriate moment and then to fuse and crystallize out of that rapidly flowing intellectual and emotional turgidity periods of such structural wholeness and thematic

unity as that period which opens Book IX of Paradise Lost (ll. 1-41). The period is not a mosaic formed of diverse elements fitted together; rather, it is a unified creation in which elements, including the personal, which were once diverse have been structurally, psychologically, and metrically assimilated into a Miltonic whole.

The man who strove to form of his own life a "true poem" and was conscious from an early age of possessing the os magna soniturum, the mouth formed for great utterances, became, for more than a century after the publication of his major works, almost an Authorized Version himself.¹ He is far from that today. But, in the light of his use of the Bible in his epic poems, the fact that neither Milton nor the Authorized Version of the English Bible (however much either or both may have been ignored) has ever been successfully equalled or supplanted by imitators or rivals seems peculiarly appropriate.

¹An interesting example of the fusing of Milton and the Bible in the mind of a poet as late as the nineteenth century is discussed by Professor Ants Oras in "The Multitudinous Orb: Some Miltonic Elements in Shelley," MLC, XVI (1955), 247-57. After comparing Milton's "Chariot of Paternal Deitie" in P. L., VI, 749-850, with Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, IV, 236-83, and after analyzing the parallels in both poetic passages with the common Biblical source, the first chapter of Ezekiel, Professor Oras concludes: "Milton and the Bible seem, at least occasionally, to have been mingled for Shelley in an inextricable total impression, with the imagery and phraseology of Milton tending to predominate."

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Novum Testamentum Graecum, cum vulgata interpretatione Latina Graeci contextus lineis inserta: Quae quidem interpretatio cum à Graecarum dictionum proprietate disedit, sensum, videlicet, magis quàm verba experimens, in margine libriest collocata: atque alia Ben. Ariae Montani Hispalensis operâ è verbo reddita, ac diverso characterum genere distincta, in eius est substituta locum. Antverpiae, Ex officina Christophori Plantini. M. D. LXXXIII. (This Greek New Testament is bound with the Hebrew Old Testament listed above; together they constitute the Antwerp Polyglot of 1584.)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INDEX

In the following index these abbreviations are used to indicate the editor or commentator who has annotated each Biblical reference. If no abbreviation follows the Biblical reference, the present writer has identified the reference.

Abbreviations of the names of books of the Bible are those found in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

Collaborators, contributors, and former editors whose Biblical annotations are listed in Todd's edition are indicated by a lower case initial following the abbreviation for Todd.*

Line numbering is that of Patterson in Student's Milton.

T -- Henry John Todd

M -- David Masson

V -- A. W. Verity --

H -- Merritt Y. Hughes

Ta -- Joseph Addison

Tbe -- Richard Bentley

Tbo -- Bowle

Tc -- Calton

Td -- Charles Dunster

Tg -- John Gillies

Tgr -- Greenwood

Th -- Patrick Hume

The -- John Heylin

Tn -- Bishop Newton ✓

Tp -- Zachary Pearce

Tr -- J. Richardson and son

Ts -- Stillingfleet

Tth -- Robert Thyer

*For information on any of those whose contributions are found in Todd (except Greenwood) see Oras, Milton's Editors and Commentators.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

James H. Sims was born in Orlando, Florida, on October 29, 1924. He received his elementary education in Florida schools and was graduated from Lafayette High School in Mayo, Florida, in May, 1941. After a period of employment with the Post Engineers of the Army Air Corps, he entered the United States Navy in May, 1943, and served in the North Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Asiatic-Pacific theatres during World War II. Honorably discharged from the Navy in February, 1946, he entered the University of Florida in June. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in February, 1949, and his Master of Arts degree in June, 1950. His master's thesis is entitled "Theological Implications in the Works of Jonathan Swift."

In January, 1944, Mr. Sims married the former Betty Carmen Gray of Tampa. They now have five children: James, Timothy, Suzanna, Andrew, and Mark, ranging in age from thirteen to five years.

Ordained to the Baptist ministry in November, 1947, Mr. Sims, in addition to teaching, has served several Baptist churches as pastor. The last of these was the Temple Baptist Church of Evansville, Indiana, where he also served as president of Tri-State Baptist Bible College.

Mr. Sims returned with his family to Florida in 1955 and has taught in the freshman English program of the University of Florida since that time (except for 1957-58, which was spent in full time graduate study under a grant from the Southern Fellowships Fund). Upon receiving the doctorate in English in June, 1959, Mr. Sims will assume the headship of the English Department at Tift College.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 8, 1959

A. H. Lipp
College of Arts and Science

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

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